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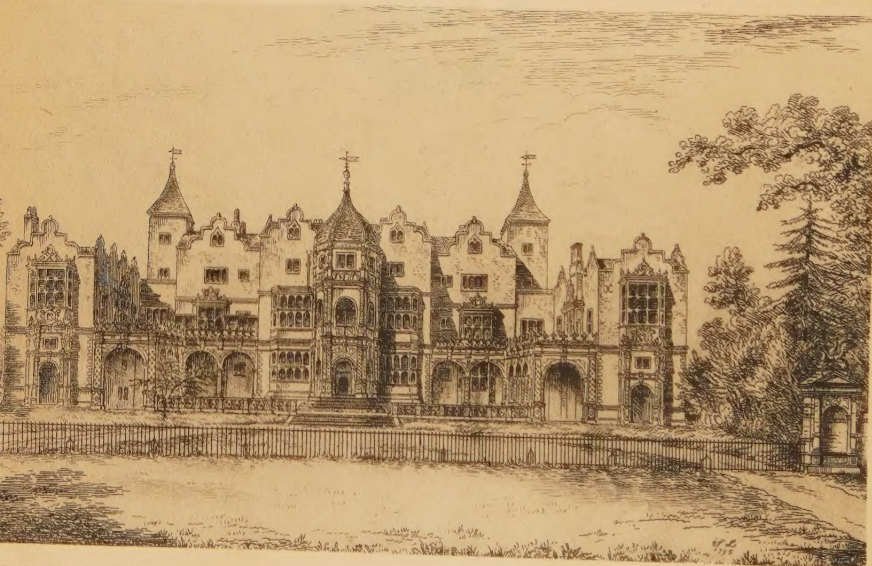


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THE HOME OF THE HOLLANDS

1605-1820





LAND HOUSE, 1795
from the North and South

THE HOME OF THE HOLLANDS

1605—1820

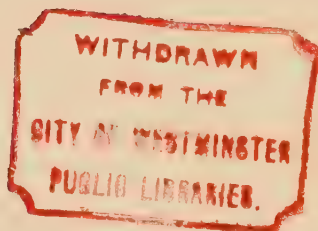
THE EARL OF ILCHESTER



LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.1

First Edition . . . 1937



1902.07



1902.07

To my Mother

PREFACE

A SHORT account of the collection of letters and manuscripts, upon which the following account of Holland House is largely based, may not come amiss.

No papers connected with its occupation by the Rich family remain, with the exception of a Survey of 1694/5 by Edward Bostock Fuller. The series therefore commences with the correspondence of Henry Fox, first Lord Holland, the most important part of which was arranged in volumes by his grandson, Henry Richard Vassall, third Lord Holland, with the help of his librarian, William Doggett. The material collected by the same member of the family for a *Life* of his uncle Charles James Fox, was bequeathed by Lady Holland, at her death in 1845, to Lord John Russell, in order that he might complete the work. These papers remained in the hands of the Russell family, and are now in the possession of Professor George Macaulay Trevelyan, O.M.

Next follows an immense accumulation of letters to the third Lord and Lady Holland, and from them to various members of their family. Included is the correspondence of Lord Holland's sister, the Hon. Caroline Fox, which was added to the collection at her death in 1845. Then comes that of the fourth Lord, who, probably from his long absences abroad, did not conserve his papers to the same extent as his parents. His wife, the last Lady Holland, however, contributed largely during the period of her widowhood, after 1859. These letters, mostly of social interest, were handed over by her executor, Mr Atkinson-

Clark, to the writer's mother, Lady Ilchester, some years after Lady Holland's death in 1889.

Subsequent additions include Dr Allen's journals, correspondence and rough notes on his Anglo-Saxon studies, given to the writer by Clementina, Lady Lilford, a few years before her death in 1929. And finally, to them must be added a number of volumes of letters to General Charles Fox, of great family interest, more especially for the theme now in hand. They passed after his death in 1873 to his sister Lady Lilford, and were left to the Holland House Archives by her son the Hon. and Rev. Edward Victor Powys, who died in 1930. To the kindness of his son, also, Mr Mervyn Powys, we are indebted for the Diaries of Mrs Charles James Fox.

Regarding the text of transcriptions, the original spelling has in most cases been preserved, up to the middle of the eighteenth century; after which the present orthography has been adopted, except in certain cases where an individual writer was in the habit of making use of certain idiosyncrasies. Foreign words in transcriptions are given in italics only when they are underlined by their writer. References to excerpts and allusions taken from the various printed biographies or volumes of correspondence of the period under notice are given in the footnotes. Where no such direction is given, the material, much of it new in the later chapters, is largely taken from the resources of Holland House, supplemented by general works of reference.

The illustrations of interiors are from the architectural reproductions of Joseph Nash and C. J. Richardson. Exteriors are from various engravings; and portraits from those in the House, with the exception of one from an engraving in the possession of Sir John Murray, K.C.V.O. The 1734 copy of the Fuller Survey which has been made use of, as clearer than the original of 1694/5, was recently given to me by Sir Francis Fladgate, M.V.O. The northern

portion only has been shown in this volume, to face p. 32 ; as a reproduction of the whole Survey necessitates the reduction of certain interesting details to too small a scale. It will be given in its entirety on a future occasion. The reproduction of Thorpe's plan is taken from his book of drawings in the Sir John Soane Museum ; and the plan of the House is from a recent survey and drawing by Mr S. G. Kadleigh.

My best thanks for useful assistance and advice on this volume are due to the late Lord Lansdowne, who further allowed me to use extracts from the Bowood MSS. : to the Hon. Mrs Dawtrey Drewitt, to Sir Charles Hagberg Wright, to Sir John Murray, Mr Arthur Stratton, F.S.A., Mr Arthur Bolton, F.S.A., of the Sir John Soane Museum, the Town Clerk of Kensington, and Mr C. F. Bell. I must also acknowledge with gratitude permission given to me to publish certain letters at Holland House by the Duke of Bedford, Lord Lauderdale, and the Legal Personal Representative of the sixth Lord Byron ; also to Mr J. Pierpont Morgan for leave to make use of an extract from one of his manuscripts ; and to the Corporation of Leeds for access to the book of accounts at Temple Newsam.

ILCHESTER.

January 1937.

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CHAPTER I

1605-1704

THE COPE AND RICH FAMILIES

May neither fire destroy nor waste impair,
Nor time consume thee till the twentieth heir,
May taste respect thee and may fashion spare.

THESE lines, scratched in 1811 by John Hookham Frere on the pane of a window in the room at Holland House which was wont to be placed at his disposal when staying there, furnish a fitting introduction to a new history of this ancient mansion. To embark on its story for a second time may indeed to some appear presumption. Our excuse must be that since the compilation of the book which Marie Fox, Princess Liechtenstein, published in 1873, an exhaustive examination of the voluminous collection of letters preserved there has brought to light many new facts. Selections from these manuscripts, it is true, have from time to time been given to the public during the last forty-five years and earlier. But many long series of letters remain, especially those of the first portion of the nineteenth century, the majority of which are of insufficient general interest to be reproduced as a whole. Yet for our purpose they are all-important, for they throw much new light on the idiosyncrasies of various members of the Fox family, on their habits, and on their mode of life. Throughout this mass of correspondence, too, is interspersed a wealth of reference to their friends and associates, often individuals of note, English

and foreign alike, who were wont to pass the hospitable portals of Holland House.

We have determined, therefore, not without fear that our work may be described as a thing of shreds and patches, to intermingle some part of the new material with the more prosaic and conventional record of the arrangement of bricks and stone which compose Tickell's "antique structures,"¹ and with those features in the topographical history of the neighbourhood which should not be lost. Lest, however, such technical details should appear too tedious to the ordinary reader, we have thought fit to relegate them to the Appendices, where they may be perused or passed over at his or her own sweet will. It will further be possible, with new facts before us, to correct certain misstatements which have appeared. In this we have no wish to cast aspersions on the distinguished band of *literati*, whom Princess Liechtenstein collected around her to assist her in her task, nor to depreciate the value of her labours. But the immense progress which has been made during the last sixty years in artistic classification and discrimination is sufficient in itself to account for such discrepancies, and gives us an added reason for attempting a new analysis of the matter under review.

To accomplish, however, the extensive theme which we have set ourselves needs space : and to compress our matter into one volume seems well-nigh an impossibility. We have determined here, therefore, to confine our narrative to the period dating from the first construction of the House down to the end of the reign of King George III. If this finds favour with the public and proves to be of sufficient general interest, a sequel can follow at a later date, dealing with the later chapters of its existence, and more especially with those years during which the old

¹ *To the Earl of Warwick, on the death of Addison.*

mansion may without exaggeration claim to have been "the home of the Whigs."

Time indeed has laid a heavy hand on the masonry. Less than a decade before the period in which Frere wrote his lines, both wings of the House were under sentence of destruction. Walls gaped, floors sagged, a hearthstone stood on end; and the great Wyatt himself was called in to consider demolition and reconstruction. Fortunately less drastic counsels prevailed. The seat of the trouble had been for some time suspected, and was at last definitely located. Water springing from the high ground above the House was sapping the foundations. A drain was introduced which successfully checked the decay. And now in this twentieth century the foundations are possibly the most stable part of the structure which has survived the ravages of wellnigh three and a half centuries of time.

Little does the public realise the care and money which have to be expended on the preservation of the old edifices of the metropolis. The loaded atmosphere of London takes toll with fatal effect of the soft stones which were the fashion in times past; for once the surface is penetrated, disintegration is only a matter of time. But stone is not the only material which requires constant attention. Old brickwork in like manner has its troubles. Roofs must be renewed, beams replaced or renovated; and every detail requires a watchful eye, if the building is to be preserved. Unfortunately, of the ancient mansions which graced the Capital and the villages which surrounded it even two hundred years ago, few remain to tell the tale. Almost all have disappeared, superseded by the steel and cement erections of the modern builder. Leicester House, Northumberland House, Richmond House, Carlton House, to name but a few, are swept away, and more recently in our own time Devonshire House, Lansdowne House and Chesterfield House. Holland House now stands practically

alone in its glory, almost the sole survivor. Macaulay wrote in 1841 :—

Yet a few years, and the shades and structures may follow their illustrious masters. The wonderful city which, ancient and gigantic as it is, still continues to grow as fast as a young town of logwood by a water privilege in Michigan, may soon displace those turrets and gardens which are associated with so much that is interesting and noble, with the courtly magnificence of Rich, with the loves of Ormond, with the counsels of Cromwell, with the death of Addison. The time is coming when, perhaps, a few old men, the last survivors of our generation, will in vain seek, amidst new streets and squares and railway stations, for the site of that dwelling which was in their youth the favourite resort of wits and beauties, of painters and poets, of scholars, philosophers and statesmen.

Fortunately the great writer's prophecy has so far been falsified. Nearly a hundred years have passed, and the House still occupies its site, surrounded, it is only too true, by new streets and squares and railway-stations. It has outlived its rivals, its predecessors, its contemporaries and its successors alike, in the term of its existence. It remains intact through the affection and the sense of duty to its turrets, its terraces and its gardens, which the ancient edifice has inculcated in every successive generation of its owners. To have been able to preserve the structure in its pristine splendour has been their proudest boast ; yet this has not been accomplished without much self-sacrifice, as the course of our narratives will show.

But now the spectre of overwhelming taxation has reared its grisly head, while threats have been made of even worse to come. Even Town Planning Acts, it seems, which should protect ancient monuments and not destroy them, can become a danger in disguise. Heavy modern traffic in close proximity to the old mansion would, assuredly, in a few short years, shatter its already frail structure.

The fact that such a road has been actually visualised by the powers that be increases the impossibility of looking forward with any degree of confidence to the future. The clouds are as murky and overladen, or even more so, than when Macaulay wrote. The position is as obscure.

We do not propose to waste the time of the reader with a long dissertation on the origins of Kensington—Chenesiton of the Domesday Book—for they are fully set out by Faulkner in his *History of Kensington*. Swift spoke of “kingly Kensington”; but it was not until 1901 that it became a “Royal Borough,” an honour due to the fact that Queen Victoria’s early life was spent at Kensington Palace, although actually at that time outside its boundaries. Nor shall we refer at any length to the de Veres, Earls of Oxford, who for the most part throughout long centuries continued as owners of the original Manors. In the course of time these Manors had become subdivided, but by 1610 they had all become reassembled in the possession of one and the same proprietor, Sir Walter Cope, the builder of Holland House, or to be more exact they had by then passed through his hands. These were four in number, “West Towne,” Knotting Barns (henceforward to be known as Notting Hill), The Abbot’s Manor, and that of Earl’s Court, as it came to be called, Cope resold Knotting Barns, but retained West Towne, the larger portion of the Abbot’s Manor, and a smaller proportion of Earl’s Court.

The date of Sir Walter Cope’s birth is uncertain. The country seat of the family was Hanwell, near Banbury. Bramshill, that noble pile with which the name has been for so many years closely associated, was not bought by Sir John Cope, fifth Baronet, until 1700; and at the period in question the property belonged to Lord Zouche,

Walter Cope was second son of Edward Cope, by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Walter Mohun of Wolaton, in Nottinghamshire. His eldest brother, Anthony, was knighted in 1590, and was created a baronet in 1611. We first hear of Walter himself in 1591 described as, "of the Strand." He received the honour of knighthood in 1603. Vertue wrote of him, "Walter Cope was a very rich man, had many great estates. Carl Vermander mentions one Cope, a Gent, a curious collector of pictures. England Temp. Q. Eliz. ano 157 . . ." ¹ He married Dorothy, daughter of Richard Grenville of Wotton. A favourite of King James I, and one of the gentlemen of his Privy Chamber, he became a Chamberlain of the Exchequer in 1609, and Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries in 1612.² The Earl of Dorset, writing to Sir Thomas Edmonds on November 23, 1612, said, "After the King had been one night at Theobalds, the warrant was signed there to make Sir Walter Cope Master of the Wards, who, I hope, did not pay so dearly for it as his predecessor Cary by £3,000 ; for if he did and live no longer, he will have a hard bargain of it." ³

It was in 1605, or even earlier, that Sir Walter commenced to build Cope Castle, as Holland House was first named, on the higher slopes of the hill which had come into his possession by his purchase of the Manor of Abbot's Kensington. Since his purchase of the Manor of West Towne in 1591, he appears to have inhabited the Manor house belonging to it. We know that his new home was inhabited in 1606, for, on May 11 of that year, Dudley Carleton wrote to John Chamberlain, "Lady Norris is at Cope Castle separated from her husband."

¹ Add. MSS. 23,069 (*Walpole Society*, Vertue, i, 88).

² The Patent is of 10. Jac. Nov. 4. (Faulkner's *History of Kensington*, p. 85).

³ Nichols's *Progresses of King James I*, ii, 490.

Horace Walpole, in his *Anecdotes of Painting*, affirms that John Thorpe was the architect of the original structure—the centre block of the present building; and that Inigo Jones and Nicholas Stone planned alterations and additions to it. This last statement cannot be substantiated. There is no evidence at all to connect either of these men with the actual fabric of the House; but the error can perhaps be traced to its source. Two gate-piers of stone, now in position near the North-East angle of the House, are said by Walpole and others to owe their existence to designs of Inigo Jones.¹ Whatever may be the truth of this, they are in point of fact the work of Stone, as is shown by the following quotation from his own "Notebook," transcribed by Vertue²:—"Kensington. 23 March, 1629. Nic Stone. undertake for the Earl of Holland 2 Peeres of good Portland stone. to hang a pair of great wooden gates on for 100*li*."

John Thorpe's hand in the design of the House is clearly proved by his book of drawings, now at the Sir John Soane Museum, bought by the latter from the Warwick family; for it contains a ground plan. On this appear the words, "Sr walter Coap at Kensington, prfected me. J T." Its date therefore can be placed with certainty between 1603, the year of Cope's knighthood, and that of his death in 1614.

Thorpe's further connection with the building, and other knotty problems connected with the early history of the edifice are discussed at some length in Appendix A to this volume, to which we refer those who are interested

¹ An engraving of the gates by W. Proud, in the British Museum, speaks of them as by Inigo Jones. The view of the South side of the House, facing p. 176, shows the gates in the position which they occupied in 1751, and indeed until 1848.

² Add. MSS. 23,069. (*Walpole Society*, Vertue, i, p. 99.) Nicholas Stone's "Notebook" is also published (*Walpole Society*, vol. vii).

in the architectural features involved. Reference to an interesting series of building accounts for the years 1637 to 1640, relating to a somewhat large addition : as well as the record of the removal in 1704 of a block of buildings attached to the West side of the present House, cannot be omitted from any serious history of it.

Chamberlain, writing to Dudley Carleton on July 8, 1608, said, " On Tuesday I went with the Lady Fanshawe and other good company to visit Cope Castle at Kensington. We had the honour to see all, but touch nothing, not so much as a cherry, which are charily preserved for the Queen's coming." ¹ Cope had always been a favourite with James I ; and the presence of royalty at his house is no matter for surprise. Four years later the King himself honoured the House with a visit. On that occasion the atmosphere was one of mourning and sadness. James's eldest son, Prince Henry, died at St James's on Friday, November 6, at the age of eighteen ; and on the 12th, Chamberlain wrote :—" The King on Monday came from Theobalds to Kensington to Sir Walter Cope's, whither the next morning the young Prince, the Lady Elizabeth and the Palsgrave ² went all together in one coach to him : and that afternoon all the Council." ³ His stay did not extend beyond two nights. Writing again on the 19th, Chamberlain said, " The King was quickly weary of Kensington, because he said the wind blew through the walls, that he could not lie warm in his bed. He came to Whitehall yesterday was se'ennight . . ." Seemingly the house established an early reputation for coldness

¹ Nichols's *Progresses of James I*, ii, 200.

² Prince Charles (afterwards Charles I), Princess Elizabeth (later Queen of Bohemia) and her future husband.

³ Nichols's *Progresses of James I*, ii, 488.

COPE'S WILL

in winter, which it has always maintained ! We do not hear that the King ever put foot again inside Sir Walter's house. The latter lived only two years to enjoy his Mastership of the Wards. He died in 1614, and was buried in Kensington Church on August 1, leaving an only daughter Isabel.

Sir Walter's will, dated a few days before his death, spoke of "my good nephew Sir William Cope kt and baronet," and "my trusty and well beloved sonne-in-law, Sir Henry Riche kt," among the six Trustees appointed to hold various "hereditaments of Chauntry lands, Rectories, Tythes, etc.," devised for the speedy discharge of his debts. These were reputed to have amounted to £27,000. From this it is clear that his daughter's marriage took place before his death.¹ The House and grounds were left to Lady Cope for her life, with remainder to their daughter Isabel and her husband and their heirs.² An important condition, however, was attached to the legacy, that, "the said Dame Dorothe shall keep herself sole and unmarried to any second husband." This stipulation she did not observe, and allied herself in 1621 to Sir Thomas Fowler. The property, therefore, reverted to her daughter. Lady Cope died in 1638, and was buried in Kensington Church.

The date of Isabel Cope's birth is not recorded. Her husband, Henry Rich, was second son of Robert, third Baron Rich, created Earl of Warwick by James I in

¹ Faulkner states that the marriage took place at St Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield. The *Complete Peerage* gives the date as "in or before 1616."

² For the clauses in the will relating to Holland House, see Appendix B. In that document several features in the grounds can be identified with a Survey taken eighty years later by Edward Bostock Fuller, which is reproduced to face p. 32.

1618; while his mother was celebrated as the "Stella" of Sir Philip Sidney—Penelope, daughter of Walter, first Earl of Essex. Henry Rich was knighted in 1610, was created Baron Kensington in March 1622/3, and was raised to the Earldom of Holland, by which name he is best known, in 1624. He received the Garter a year later.

The family of Rich owed its rise to Richard Rich, a lawyer in the time of Henry VIII, who did not scruple to pay court to his master, by betraying to him a confidential conversation into which he had ensnared Sir Thomas More, of which he gave evidence on the trial of that great man. For compliance with the revolutions of church and state, he was rewarded with the Great Seal and a Peerage, and by a skilful retreat when public stations became perilous, he preserved the wealth which he had amassed in an age of confiscation. His grandson, Robert, Lord Rich, on whom James, prodigal of honours, conferred the title of Earl of Warwick, is best known by the adventures of his first wife, Lady Penelope Devereux, who unwillingly married him, and was afterwards divorced by the spiritual court, on account of Blount, Earl of Devonshire, to whom she was irregularly married in the life-time of her legal husband by Dr William Laud, then Lord Devonshire's chaplain, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

Robert and Henry, the sons of Lord Warwick's ill-assorted marriage with this lady, became men of considerable distinction in the remarkable period of history which followed. The family, being one of those which grew out of the Reformation, appears from the beginning to have been disposed towards puritanism; and Robert, Earl of Warwick, the eldest son, adhered to the Puritan party throughout his life, which was prolonged till near the Restoration. Henry, the second son, is allowed by Lord Clarendon to have "had very good parts, and excellent endowments," but he seems to have owed his rapid rise in honor and fortune to his qualities as "a handsome man of lovely and winning presence," which were more frequently the source of sudden preferment under James than at any other court in modern times.

HENRY, EARL OF HOLLAND

The above passage occurs in a brief manuscript history of Holland House by Sir James Mackintosh, which appears to have been written at Elizabeth, Lady Holland's request, and of which we have made use on several occasions.¹

Rich was appointed gentleman of the bedchamber to Charles, Prince of Wales, by the influence, according to Clarendon, of the Duke of Buckingham, who was also instrumental, it is said, in winning for him Cope's heiress as a wife. Early in 1624 he was sent to France with Lord Carlisle, to negotiate his master's marriage with Henrietta Maria.

Bassompierre makes frequent allusions in his *Mémoires* to visits to Lord Holland at *Stintinton*, as he called Kensington, during his Embassy to London in 1626.

But diplomacy was not Holland's strong point, nor did he achieve any greater measure of success as a leader of men. He was unlucky, perhaps, in the field; but we cannot escape from the fact that his record in high command was one of unbroken failure. He rose to high favour with Queen Henrietta Maria, and retained it sufficiently long to escape from well merited disgrace by her intercession on several occasions. Mackintosh wrote :—

About the year 1633 the favor of Lord Holland at court began to be on the wane. He was confined to his house for challenging Lord Weston, who had opened a packet containing letters from the Queen to Holland; of which the discovery could hardly have provoked him so highly, if they had not

¹ A portion of the history, down to 1753, was sent to Lady Holland by Mackintosh at the end of 1828, with suggestions for the best method of bringing it to a close. Apparently, however, from a letter two years later, the MS. was never returned to him. He then again expressed his readiness to finish it, but at the least loss of time to himself. "I have not a day to spare," he wrote, "out of my little stock of life." Sir James was a true prophet. He died in 1832; and the history remains incomplete.

somewhat betrayed those "more tender ties," in the belief of which the character of that Princess, as well as other traditional anecdotes, seem to countenance Lord Orford. But when the Earl of Northumberland was appointed Lord High Admiral in 1637, Lord Holland, who had been a candidate for the office, retired to his house at Kensington in disgust, ascribing his disappointment, apparently with justice, to the over-ruling influence of his enemy Strafford. He was also refused, on the King's last return from Scotland, the nomination to the rank of a Baron, which according to the established price of titles would have produced to him £10,000. When he came to Kensington after the last occurrence, his house was frequently visited by members of opposition. . . .

"He was visited and caressed," wrote Clarendon, "with great application by all the factious party." These lapses, which the Queen estimated as rank ingratitude, inflamed her against him; and at her instigation his office of Groom of the Stole was taken from him in 1641. He was subsequently received with marked disfavour on his appearance at Court in very different rôles, that of envoy from the Parliament, and as suppliant to the Crown for the restoration of his office. But his vacillations overcame even the patience of his Puritan friends. His return to London in 1643 found him disabled from voting in the existing Parliament. His efforts to get this ordinance reversed proved futile. Nor did a petition to the Commons, asking for pecuniary compensation for losses occasioned by his espousal of the Parliamentary cause, meet with any better success. Yet he was still amongst the number of their supporters in August 1647, for, on the approach of the Army to London, we read:—¹

This morning the members of Parliament which were driven by tumults from Westminster met General Fairfax at the Earle of Holland's house at Kensington, and subscribed to the Declar-

¹ *Whitelocke's Memorials*, p. 264.

ation of the army and a further Declaration of their approving and joining with the army in their last proceedings, making null all acts passed by the members since July 26 last.

A march on London was arranged, and on the approach of the Army, the Mayor and Corporation, much to the fury of Holles and the dissenting element, decided not to oppose their advance.

During the following months the King's affairs reached a critical stage. Holland's conscience began to smite him, and his sense of duty to his Lord and Master again became uppermost in his breast. "This last attempt to serve the Royal cause," wrote Mackintosh, "seems to show, even by its rashness, that he was never uninfluenced by a considerable sense of personal gratitude." He resolved to take up arms; and set about to raise a sufficient force to assist the King in the field. Whitelocke, whose intimate friend he was, spoke of a long conversation with him,¹ in which Holland argued, "how honorable, just and pious a thing it would be, to rescue our country from the Misery and Slavery they were now under, especially if it were done by those who in the beginning had perhaps too much hand in the bringing these Straights upon us." When Holland appeared with some five hundred horse near Kingston early in July, Whitelocke realised that the former had been seeking to ascertain his views, and that, finding them unfavourable to his enterprise, he had desisted from enlightening him further as to what was in his mind.

Holland's final effort on behalf of his Royal Master proved useless to the Royal cause and disastrous to himself. He was defeated: and being captured shortly afterwards was sent in custody to Warwick Castle. Orders were issued by the House of Lords on August 21, to remove him from thence, and to confine him at his house in Ken-

¹*Memorials*, p. 317.

sington. Those instructions, apparently, were not carried out ; for we hear of him being taken months later from Warwick to his place of trial in London, on February 15, 1649.¹

Parliament had decreed on November 18, 1648, that Lord Holland, with Lords Goring, Capel and others, should be banished from the country. But the Army was not so lenient. These former sentences were revoked ; and the prisoners were brought before the High Court a fortnight after the King's execution. Owing to Holland's serious illness, his trial did not commence until February 27. Sentence of death was pronounced on March 6. Petitions for mercy in his case were presented in person by his wife and by his brother, Lord Warwick, at the bar of the House : but on a motion that the execution of the sentence "be respited for a short time," the Noes were 31, the Yeas 30.² Whitelocke states that the figures were equal, and that the Speaker gave his casting vote against the prisoner. Holland was beheaded on the 9th, in front of the gates of Westminster Hall. He refused to see his wife and children. "It would add," said he, "too much to his sorrow, and discompose his thoughts, which were now to be set only upon another world." His nonchalance he retained to the last. It is recorded that he wore a white satin waistcoat, and that he donned a white satin cap with silver lace to receive the fatal blow. His family were allowed to remove his body, and it was laid to rest in Kensington Church.

The tradition that Vandyke lived at Holland House when painting portraits of Lord Holland, was still in vogue in the time of Samuel Rogers, who spoke of his pleasure in finding himself, "under the old roof that has sheltered

¹ *Whitelocke's Memorials*, pp. 330, 382. Faulkner states that Lord Holland was confined at Holland House for a short period.

² *Journals of the House of Commons*.

THE GILT ROOM

so many foreign statesmen—from Sully to Calonne—and so many foreign artists—from Vandyke to Canova.” Mackintosh, too, speaks of him as having been in residence there for two years : but the story, it is only fair to confess, lacks corroboration.

The ceiling of Thorpe’s “hall,” now the *Breakfast Room*, is certainly due to the good taste of Lord Holland and his wife ; and from the Earl’s coronets on the cornice, it can be dated in or after 1624, the year when he was raised to that rank. The “great chamber above” of the plan, now the *Gilt Room*, is said to have been decorated for a ball to celebrate the marriage of Charles and Henrietta Maria. The conception is worthy of the courtier selected to arrange the preliminaries of their betrothal ; and there appears to be no reason to discard so probable a suggestion, although the entertainment seems never to have taken place. Horace Walpole speaks of Francis Cleyn as the designer of this remarkable scheme of decoration,¹ taking his cue doubtless from Vertue, who wrote in 1736, “At Holland House the best room one pair of stairs painted the ceiling and ornamented grotesque and small figures I think by old Decleyn.” In it the fleur-de-lis, *argent*, of the Copes, alternately with the crosslet, *or*, of the Riches, on appropriate fields of *azure* and *gules* respectively, are arranged in rectangular compartments. These are encircled by palm branches and bear the earl’s coronet. The overmantels bear painted medallions containing the heads of the King and Queen, as well as those, in all probability, of Henry IV of France and Sully.

Francis Cleyn, or Klein, the elder was a native of Rostock, but acquired his knowledge of art in Italy. Vertue states that he was buried on March 23, 1647/8. He was introduced by Sir Henry Wotton to Prince Charles, who took

¹ *History of Painting* : Add. MSS. 23,072. (Walpole Society, Vertue, iv.)

a fancy to him ; and he was appointed designer to the newly constituted Mortlake tapestry factory by James I. Two carved white and gilt chairs with shell backs at Holland House are also said by Walpole to be "evidence of his taste."

We must also here note a quotation from the *Calendar of State Papers*, given by Mr W. G. Thomson.¹ "A warrant was issued on December 3, 1639, to sell to the Earl of Holland five pieces of hangings of the *Story of the Apostles*, being of the 2nd sort, for £886. 17. 6, the price His Majesty allowed for the same."

There are indications that Holland House was confiscated for a short time after Lord Holland's death, and was used by the parliamentarians as Fairfax's headquarters. Faulkner, quoting from the *Perfect Diurnal*, of July 9-16, 1649, wrote, "The Lord General [Fairfax] is removed from Queen Street to the late Earl of Holland's house at Kensington, where he intends to reside." Lysons,² on the other hand, mentions that General Lambert fixed his headquarters there in the same month, and Sir James Mackintosh makes a similar statement. Cromwell is reported to have met General Ireton in an open field on the slopes below the House, in order to discuss the affairs of the nation. The latter's deafness is said to have accounted for the choice of the spot ; its seclusion rendering their conversation less liable to be overheard by eavesdroppers.

In any case we know that the widowed owner of the House was permitted to return to her property without unreasonable delay, for the Law of Forfeiture was not enforced against her : and that she lived there until her death in August 1655. The entry of her burial in the *Parish Registers* reads, "Isabella, Dowager Countess of

¹ *History of Tapestries*, p. 310, ed. 1906. ² *Environs of London*.

REVIVAL OF STAGE PLAYS

Holland, from Kensington House, 1st September." From this it has been inferred that the structure did not receive the name of Holland House until some period subsequent to this date : and true it is that the earlier references speak of Cope Castle, or of Lord Holland's house at Kensington. The lady herself seems to have made certain alterations to the structure or outbuildings, for in 1806 a stone was dug up near the old stables, on which was cut, "This side done by y^e La. Holland, A.D. 1654." ¹

An outstanding and interesting feature of the period of Isabel, Lady Holland's occupation of the House was the encouragement which she gave to plays and players. During the Civil war, the Drama had fallen from the exalted position which it had occupied during the preceding decades. The theatres were closed by order ; and the players had in many instances joined the forces of the King. But such was the obsession of the Puritans against stage-plays, that, in 1647, an Ordinance was issued condemning all performances of the kind as vicious and contrary to the best interests of public morality. Under it actors were to be proceeded against as common rogues ; and a fine could even be imposed upon each convicted spectator, to be used for the benefit of the poor of the parish.²

Notwithstanding this persecution, during the early spring of 1649, after the death of King Charles, certain players banded together and attempted to revive their performances privately in London. With great caution and circumspection they contrived to act a few plays at the Cockpit. But after remaining undisturbed for some three or four days, they were surprised by a party of foot-soldiers, during the performance of a tragedy entitled, *The Bloody Brothers*, and were carried off to Hatton House,

¹ Faulkner's *History of Kensington*, p. 96. The stone was built into the wall of an arcade in the garden, and can no longer be located.

² Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, iii, 846.

then a prison. There they were plundered of their costumes, but after some time were set at liberty. "Afterwards in Oliver's time," to quote *Historia Histrionica*, a tract, published in 1699, in the form of a dialogue narrating an outline of the history of the English stage,¹ "they used to act privately, three or four miles or more out of town, now here now there, sometimes in noblemen's houses, in particular Holland House at Kensington, where the nobility and gentry who met (but in no great numbers) used to make a sum for them, each giving a broadpiece or the like. And Alexander Goffe, the woman actor at Blackfriars (who had made himself known to persons of quality), used to be the jackall, and give notice of time and place."

We have no record of the names of the plays which were presented in the House, nor of the actors who took part in the performances. Indeed, it is hardly likely that any definite list was kept, at a time when the necessity of secrecy and concealment was so urgent. But it is clear that it played an important part in enabling the dramatic profession to carry on their traditions in the best way possible, during that period of stress which preceded the Restoration.

On the death of Isabel, her eldest son, Robert, became owner of the House. As he was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1634, he must have been born some years previous to 1620, the date mentioned in the *Complete Peerage*. He married, first, in 1641, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Arthur Ingram, of Temple Newsam. She died in 1661. Their eldest son, Henry, Lord Kensington, married in 1659 at the age of seventeen, and died a few months later. There were four other children of the marriage, but

¹ Dodsley's *Collection of old Plays*, 2^d Ed. 1780, vol. xii; Cibber's *Life*, ii, 149.

all died in infancy ; and Lord Holland later married his cousin, who died in 1689, Anne, daughter of Edward, Earl of Manchester. Of the offspring of this union, we need only mention Edward, who succeeded to his father's titles : and Elizabeth, who married Francis Edwardes, of Haverfordwest, and was ancestress of the present Barons Kensington. Lord Holland added the title of Warwick to his own, on the death of his cousin, Charles Rich, fourth Earl of Warwick, in 1673 : and died two years later.

This son, Edward Rich, born about 1673, then succeeded as sixth Earl of Warwick and third Earl of Holland. He married, in February 1696/7, Charlotte, only daughter of Sir Thomas Middleton, of Chirk Castle, a lady said to have been "worth £20,000." One son, Edward Henry, was born to them in January 1697/8.

About the time of the coming-of-age of Edward, Lord Warwick and Holland, or shortly afterwards, namely in March 1694-5, two Surveys of his property in Kensington were made by Edward Bostock Fuller. To the one relating to the Manor of Abbot's Kensington we need here make no reference, for it is not to our purpose. The Survey, however, of lands situated in the western portion of the parish is all-important.¹ It shows fields situated on both sides of the "Great Road" from Knightsbridge to Brentford. Those to the South of it extended far towards the river in a triangle with its base on the Road. Over this southern portion of Lord Warwick and Holland's land, to use the words of Macaulay, "milkmaids and sportsmen wandered between green hedges and over fields bright with daisies from Kensington almost to the shores of the Thames." But the enclosures to the North only are material to our theme. These are dealt with in Appendix B, and in subsequent chapters of our narrative.

¹ The reproduction will be found at the end of the book preceding the index.

THE COPE AND RICH FAMILIES

In 1699 Lord Warwick and Holland underwent the ordeal of trial by his Peers in Westminster Hall, together with Charles, Lord Mohun, on a charge of murder.¹ The victim was a certain Captain Richard Coote, who fell in a duel arising out of high words at a tavern in the Strand. The two Lords in question seem to have acted as seconds, and were more accessories than principals in the affair. They were both acquitted of the more serious charge, but were convicted of manslaughter. In Lord Warwick's case, "The Lord High Steward told him he was acquitted the statute excusing a peer from being burnt in the hand ; but advised him not to offend again, for manslaughter could only be allowed but once."²

During his long minority Holland House had been chiefly inhabited by strangers. Sir John Chardin, the well-known traveller in Persia, was certainly living there with his wife in 1685, for a record in the *Parish Registers* mentions a daughter, Elizabeth, born in the House in September of that year.³ Chardin, a French protestant, had been forced to flee from his country on account of religious persecution, and spent his remaining years in England. *The Dictionary of National Biography* speaks of him in Kensington as early as 1682.

More celebrated even was the next reputed occupant of the House, the famous William Penn, who is said to have spent some time there in the early part of James II's reign. Sir James Mackintosh wrote, instancing Penn's favour with the King, "He could not make his way down the front steps of his house through the crowds of suitors who besought him to use his good offices with the King for their advantage, and probably still oftener for their relief." We cannot, however, read his remark in the sense that the incident took place at Holland House, as Princess

¹ *State Trials*, xiii, 939.

² *Luttrell's Diary*, iv, 500.

³ *History of Kensington*, p. 354.

THE HOLLAND HOUSE CHAPEL

Liechtenstein seems to infer. Indeed, Sir Henry Ellis, then principal Librarian of the British Museum, stated most definitely, in a letter to Lord Holland in 1829, that Penn never lived at Holland House, although he did not quote his authority.

Next, in 1689, the first year of King William III's reign, the House was within an ace of being sold for transformation into a Royal residence. An entry in the Parish books shows an expenditure of five shillings, "Spent that day King William came to see Holland House, to take it."¹ It did not suit his fancy, however; and his choice fell on Kensington Palace, then Nottingham House, the residence of Daniel, seventh Earl of Winchelsea and second Earl of Nottingham.

Two other entries appear in the Parish books of that period relating to Holland House, or at least to the chapel within its walls.

1696. Paid Solomon Todd for service at Holland House £1.

1704. Paid D. Hawthorne for opening the gates going to Holland House Chapel, 12 weeks, 12 shillings.

Faulkner tells us that in the earlier year Kensington church was rebuilding, and that the Countess of Warwick had given permission to the parishioners to attend divine service in her private chapel at Holland House. This license was withdrawn in 1704.² This chapel was situated in the North-East corner of the House, being approached, from what was then an open cloister, by the flight of steps on the right side of the present *Entrance Hall*. It is said to have been burnt down during the minority of the Henry Richard Fox, third Lord Holland. A more probable explanation is, that it was swept away in the alterations initiated by him in 1797, when it was discovered that it had never been consecrated.

¹ *History of Kensington*, p. 385.

² *Ibid.*, p. 386.

CHAPTER II

1704-1744

ADDISON; AND THE FOXES

CHARLOTTE, Countess of Warwick and Holland lived on in Kensington after her husband's death, in order to superintend the education of her son, Edward Henry, seventh Earl of Warwick and fourth Earl of Holland. But even a mother's care was inadequate to lead the young man to paths of virtue. He grew up vicious and depraved, and died of a fever in 1721. Addison is said to have first become acquainted with Lady Warwick, who married him in 1716 after fifteen years of widowhood, when acting as tutor to this unworthy sprig of the English nobility. But it seems clear, when we come down to facts, that the great writer could never have held any such appointment.

Joseph Addison first saw the light of day in 1672, and had by 1704 risen to offices in the State quite incompatible with such a station. Swift indeed asserted that Addison was in financial low water in 1703. It is just possible, therefore, that during his travels abroad some suggestions of the kind may have been made to him. But by the time that Lord Warwick and Holland was old enough to need such tuition, Addison's situation had changed for the better.

We shall not reprint the two charming letters written by him to the boy, in May 1708, on bird life and birds' nests, as they are given by Faulker¹ and in other works. But they prove to our perfect satisfaction

¹ *History of Kensington*, pp. 108-10.

ADDISON'S POPULARITY

that his relations with the Warwick family was that of friendship on equal terms, and that the intimacy which had sprung up between them, and which was by then fully established, was the result of frequent, neighbourly intercourse.

Addison, besides his London lodgings, owned at this time, at Sandy End, near the boundary between Chelsea and Fulham, a country house called Sanford Manor House, within easy walking distance across the fields to Holland House. It had been the country residence of Nell Gwyn, and stood near the King's Road, Fulham.¹ Sir James Mackintosh states that Addison lived there for at least five years. Certainly, there are continual references to it in Swift's *Journal to Stella*, up to the time when the Dean broke with his Whig friends and became the leading writer in the opposite camp.

Sir James wrote :—

Almost at the very moment of accomplishing that change, he says to his female friends in Ireland, "The Tories carry the election of new members 6 to 1. Mr Addison's election has passed easy and undisputed, and I believe if he had a mind to be chosen King, he would hardly be refused."² Such a testimony to Mr Addison's popularity amidst the discomfiture of his party, in a peculiarly unreserved communication by the most competent and least indulgent of judges, on the evening of a day passed in the private society of a person to whom it is borne, is perhaps as valuable a proof of general esteem, as was ever received by a man of retired habits, occupied in study or in business, without the qualities which obtain noisy applause and not then known by the works which afterwards diffused his fame. The mode of life of the most eminent writers of that age, as it is painted in the same *Journal*, seems to show that some of the faults since represented as peculiar to

¹ *History of Kensington*, p. 118, where a woodcut of the house in 1811 is given.

² *Journal to Stella*, October 12, 1710.

Mr Addison were in truth common to him with his literary friends. It exhibits no mixture of different ranks in society except for political purposes. The men of letters passed their evenings at taverns. Women were necessarily excluded from their society. In the midst of such habits it was impossible that they should escape the intemperance which was the vice of the age. There is not the least proof that Mr Addison carried it further than his fellows, and he certainly contributed much more than any of them to that higher refinement of manners, which in due time banished one odious vice from all polished society.

Nothing is known of the actual circumstances which led to Addison's marriage with Lady Warwick. Dr Johnson believed that their attachment was one of long standing.¹

This year [1716] he married the Countess-Dowager of Warwick, whom he had solicited by a very long and anxious courtship, perhaps with behaviour not very unlike that of "Sir Roger" to his disdainful widow; and who, I am afraid, diverted herself often by playing with his passion. . . . His advances at first were certainly timorous, but grew bolder as his reputation and influence increased, till at last the lady was persuaded to marry him, on terms much like those on which a Turkish Princess is espoused, to whom the Sultan is reported to pronounce, "Daughter, I give thee this man for thy slave."

As chief writer in the *Spectator*, and as author of other highly esteemed works, he had reached to giddy heights of fame. He had held high posts in the State, had arrived on the threshold of the Cabinet, and in 1717 actually attained to one of the chief offices in the Ministry, a Secretaryship of State. His was an offer of marriage not to be despised, even by the haughty matron whose charms were unceasingly sung by the best poets of her age. Rowe

¹ *Lives of the Poets.*

LADY WARWICK AND HOLLAND

had written of his first visit to her, in the language of a fervent lover :—

Hearing that Chloe's bower crown'd
The summit of a neighbouring hill,
Where every rural joy was found,
Where health and wealth were placed around,
To wait like servants on her will :

I went, and found 'twas as they said,
That everything looked fresh and fair ;
Her herds in flowery pastures strayed,
Delightful was the greenwood shade,
And gentle breathed the balmy air. . . .

A letter from Dr Cheyne to Lord Harley of August 9, 1716, speaks of the marriage as, "upon terms." "He gives £4,000, in lieu of some estate she loses for his sake."¹ Addison was well off by this time, and had recently received payment of a legacy of £14,000, bequeathed by his brother, who had died in India six years before.

But whatever may have led to the union, rumour has always been busy with the sad tale that it brought no accession of happiness to either party. Indeed, it has been quaintly said, that though Holland House was so large a mansion, yet it could not contain Mr Addison, the Countess of Warwick, and one guest, Peace.² A tradition still remains in Kensington that Addison acquired the habit of slipping away from his noble home to a neighbouring tavern, no doubt the *White Horse Inn* at the bottom of Holland Lane, in order to escape from his termagant wife. On the other hand, there seems to be no direct evidence to prove any definite quarrel ; and the fact that Addison left her his sole Executrix goes far to show that husband and wife lived on amicable terms. Addison's signature, probably his last autograph—now a treasured relic in the House,

¹ *Addisoniana*, i, 162.

² *Ibid.*, i, 119.

gave his wife authority to accept for him any sums of stock which should be transferred to him in the books of the South Sea Company. The document is dated June 8, 1719, nine days before his death. We find also in Lady Warwick's will, dated May 29, 1728, that she desired to be buried with her son, if she could not be laid beside Addison in his tomb in the Abbey. She left £10 to be handed annually to the poor of Bilton, an estate which her late husband had purchased for £10,000 in 1711: and thus showed the interest which she took in his property. Further, in it an annuity of £50 was left to Mrs Dorothy Combes, "sister to my late dear husband, Mr Addison."

One daughter, whose intellect was slightly defective, was born of the marriage in 1719. She lived at Bilton, after her mother's death in 1731, and died there unmarried in 1797.

How far domestic troubles were responsible for Addison's retirement from public life it is difficult to say. He had become joint Secretary of State with Sunderland in the spring of 1717. From that moment his health began to fail, and in March of 1718 he surrendered his post, being succeeded by Craggs, one of his most intimate friends. He lingered on for fourteen months, harassed by asthma and finally smitten with dropsy.

It does not come within the scope of this work to examine Addison's differences with Pope, in which his step-son, Lord Warwick, probably quite unfairly, was accused of taking an unworthy part. Nor need we allude to his quarrel with Steele, which clouded the last months of his existence on earth. But we cannot omit to speak of his last interview with Gay, as it took place within the walls of Holland House. A few days before his death, Macaulay tells us,¹ Addison sent for the poet, and asked his forgiveness for a wrong which he considered that he had committed

¹ *Essay on the Life and Writings of Addison.*

ADDISON'S DEATHBED

towards him. What that wrong was, Gay never seems to have fathomed. Perhaps, by his influence, Addison had prevented the poet, who was assiduous in his attentions at Court, from obtaining preferment. Certain it is that the great man's conscience smote him; and it was not in his nature to die happily until he had sought absolution.

The story of his last words to young Warwick, then a youth of twenty-one, is well known. "After a long and manly but vain struggle with his distempers," wrote Young,¹ "he dismissed his physicians, and with them all hopes of life. He sent for a youth nearly related and finely accomplished, but not above being the better for good impressions from a dying friend. He came, but life now glimmering in the socket; the dying friend was silent. After a decent pause the youth said, "Dear Sir, you have sent for me?" Grasping the youth's hand, he softly said, "See in what peace a Christian can die." He spoke with difficulty, and soon expired.

Addison died on June 17, 1719; and two years later his friend Craggs, to whom he had dedicated his works a few days before his death, followed him to the grave. Tickell wrote of Holland House in his verses, *To the Earl of Warwick, on the death of Mr Addison*, a poem in which, according to Mackintosh, the writer "soared far above his ordinary level more than any other English poet has surpassed himself in a single short composition":—

Thou hill, whose brow the antique structures grace,
Rear'd by bold chiefs of Warwick's noble race,
Why, once so lov'd, when e'er thy bower appears,
O'er my dim eye-balls glance the sudden tears!
How sweet were once thy prospects fresh and fair,
Thy sloping walks, and unpolluted air!
How sweet the glooms beneath thy aged trees,
Thy noon-tide shadow, and thy evening breeze!

¹ *Conjectures on Original Composition.*

His image thy forsaken bowers restore ;
 Thy walks and airy prospects charm no more ;
 No more the summer in thy glooms allay'd
 Thy evening breezes and thy noon-day shade.

The room on the first floor in which Addison drew his last breath now bears his name. It faces the lawns on the North side of the House. Close at hand, although the rooms did not, as now, actually connect, is the long gallery, now the *Library*, where, as tradition has it, Addison was wont to pace up and down with a bottle of port at one end, and a bottle of sherry at the other. An exaggeration probably ; but even if the wine were there, we have no means of knowing how much he drank ! Walpole, it is true, ever ready with some stirring tale, relates that the great writer died of brandy : but, as we have already seen, there is nothing to show that he drank deeper than other men of his day.

Would that we had reason to connect the long room with any of Addison's most celebrated works. But alas ! dates do not permit of the suggestion. During the period of his life at Holland House his pen was no longer so generative as in the past. The cares of office were fully occupying his time : and after his retirement, the lassitude of declining health deprived him of the perseverance necessary to add to that output of literary genius, with which his name will be associated throughout all ages.

A memento of those prolific years when Addison was living at the Temple is to be found in the room so closely associated with his last days. His "writing-table" stands in the *Library*. It is no more than a folding desk, combined with a reading-rest and two drawers below, on a tripod stand which is of a later date. But of that faded old green velvet, with the stains and inkspots which cover it, what visions may we not conjure up to remind us of the past ! The brass plate attached to the woodwork relates that it

ADDISON'S PORTRAIT

belonged successively to his daughter, to Sir Thomas Lawrence, and finally to Samuel Rogers, at whose sale the late Lord Holland purchased it in 1856. Could a better place be found for this relic, may we not ask, or one more worthy of its associations ?

One story more of Addison's sojourn at Holland House. A miniature relief in ivory of Milton's head recalls it to our memory. The incident is said to have taken place in the House, and must, therefore, not be omitted from these pages. The blind poet's daughter came one day to see Addison. He had asked her beforehand to bring him some proof that she was no impostor : but as soon as he saw her, he exclaimed, "Madam, you need no other voucher. Your face is a sufficient testimonial of whose daughter you are !" ¹

The reputed portrait of Addison now at Holland House, served as the model for his features, when Westmacott was commissioned to undertake a statue to commemorate his memory in Westminster Abbey. Not even a humble tablet had been placed there at the time of his death to record his burial ; and so a band of his admirers clubbed together in 1809 to rectify the omission. Lord Holland's picture was considered to be of sufficient authenticity to be used for the purpose ; and it was not until half a century later that doubts were thrown on its genuineness. The question of whether it did actually represent Addison, or whether it was a likeness of his friend Sir Andrew Fountaine of Narford, was busily debated in 1858 and in later years. It certainly does not seem to us to resemble the writer as we know him in pictures by Kneller and Michael Dahl at the National Portrait Gallery. But the problem has never been completely solved, and is one which may well be relegated to the Appendices of this volume.²

It now seems fairly certain, however, that the portrait

¹ *Holland House*, i, 116.

² See Appendix c.

was bought by Lord Holland about 1801, probably from a dealer, and that it came from Miss Addison's collection at Bilton, the sale of which took place after her death. Whoever the picture represents, therefore, it may be that it simply returned to its former resting-place; for amongst Vertue's notes at the British Museum (Add. MSS. 23,071), is a list of the pictures which were once at Holland House. Vertue goes on to say that many portraits were carried to Bilton.¹ Presumably he was speaking of the period subsequent to Addison's death, and was doubtless only referring to the canvases which had actually belonged to the deceased; for it does not appear probable that the family pictures of the Riches would have been taken there.

The young Lord Warwick and Holland died two years after his step-father; for the God Jupiter, to whom Rowe made his Muse appeal, had failed to keep his word:—²

To Jove she offer'd up a humble prayer,
To take the noble Warwick to his care.
Give him, she said, whate'er diviner grace
Adorns the soul, or beautifies the face:

.

Attentive to her prayer, the god reply'd,
Why dost thou ask what has not been deny'd:
Jove's bounteous hand has lavish'd all his power,
And making what he is, can add no more.
Yet since I joy in what I did create,
I will prolong the favourite Warwick's fate,
And lengthen out his years to some uncommon date.

¹ For this list, see Appendix D. After the reference to Cope, which we have already quoted, Vertue wrote, in 1721, "Quere if some of those old pictures still remain at Holland House," and added later, "Yes, many did so."

² *To Lord Warwick on his Birthday.*

VARIOUS OCCUPANTS

The young man was succeeded in the titles by his cousin, Edward Rich, grandson of Cope Rich, fourth son of Henry, first Earl of Holland. He died in 1759, at the age of sixty-five, when the titles became extinct. The Warwick earldom was revived in favour of the Greville family within three months of his death.

The Kensington property, however, had passed directly, in 1721, to William Edwardes, subsequently created Baron Kensington in 1776, son of that Elizabeth Rich, daughter of the second Earl of Holland, who married Francis Edwardes, of Haverfordwest. He does not appear to have lived at Holland House for any length of time, if indeed he resided there at all : for Mrs Morice, the daughter of Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, was in residence there in 1726 and 1728. She kept a room for her father, but there seems no proof that he ever occupied it. She wrote at the end of November 1726 :—

I am now in a snug apartment at Holland House, where I daily find the benefit of the good air : and my whole family has not enjoyed so good health a long time. Some of our rooms are pretty large, but the walls are thick, and they are really warmer than our little London rooms and much better winter quarters, though you seem to imagine otherwise.

Atterbury was living in France, after his banishment for complicity in the Jacobite plots ; and allusions to Holland House continue in the correspondence as late as June 1729.¹ His library is said to have remained stored there for some years. If Shippen also resided there, as we believe was the case, it would even seem that the House had got into the hands of a Jacobite clique.

Sir James Mackintosh states that Nicholas Lechmere, the eminent Whig lawyer, lived there at one time. Faulkner states that Lechmere bought Campden House about

¹ *Memorials and Correspondence of Atterbury*, by F. Williams.

1719.¹ He died there in June 1727: and we know from the *Gentleman's Magazine* that it then passed to his heir-at-law, Edward Lechmere. With Campden House in his possession, it is hardly likely that he would have had apartments at Holland House as well.

It appears probable that as time went on the House became uninhabited. The author of a *Tour through England*, published in 1748, wrote:—

One cannot help regretting that this famous old edifice, which has long been decaying, did not give place to a design of that nature [a scheme for rebuilding the town], which would have been a prodigious improvement, as well to the estate as to the town and all the neighbourhood. So that it seems this old famous house, the residence of the Earls of Warwick, was deserted; but the present possessor has restored, repaired and beautified it, embellished the gardens, enclosed the park, and made a coach way into Acton Road, and a coach way through his own grounds from the turnpike to the house. He is daily improving the delightful situation.²

In fact, by 1748 the House had passed permanently into new hands. During the summer of 1746, Henry Fox had taken a lease of it from William Edwardes: and twenty-two years later, in 1768, its connection with the Rich family was severed. Fox (Lord Holland by that time) bought the House outright; and a Bill was passed through both Houses of Parliament to set the title in order.

Henry Fox was born in 1705, the youngest but one of Sir Stephen Fox's many children. His father had taken service early in life at the Court of Charles I, and had made himself of great use to his son and successor, during his exile in France and the Low Countries, in many capacities, more

¹ Faulkner's *History of Kensington*, pp. 428–9.

² Quoted in *History of Kensington*, p. 119.

SIR STEPHEN FOX

especially in the difficult task of the management of his finances. After the Restoration Stephen Fox became Paymaster of the Forces, entered Parliament, and remained a member until the day of his death in 1717. He was knighted in 1665, and was appointed a Commissioner of the Treasury in 1679, a post which he retained under four Sovereigns. "By his dexterity and punctual dealing," wrote Evelyn, "he obtained such credit among the bankers, that he was in a short time able to borrow vast sums of them upon any exigence. . . . He is believed to be worth at least £200,000, honestly gotten and unenvied, which is next to a miracle."¹ He contributed nearly £14,000 to the foundation of Chelsea Hospital; and in reality the scheme for its erection, although often attributed to Nell Gwyn, was due largely to his initiative.

His first wife, Elizabeth Whittle, "sister to Mr Whittle, one of the King's cherurgeons," died in 1696, a few years after they had taken up their abode at Chiswick, in a house built by Sir Stephen and embellished by the paintings of Verrio and other good decorative artists. Of ten children, Charles Fox, born in 1660, and two daughters, alone reached maturity. Charles became the Paymaster in Charles II's reign, after his father had vacated that office, and held other appointments under King William and Queen Anne, but died childless in 1713. Two fine examples of Lely's work, portraits of him and of his father, are at Holland House.

Lady Fox died in 1696, and seven years later her husband married again, although in his seventy-seventh year. His bride, Christian Hopes, daughter of the Rev. Francis Hopes, rector of Haceby, co. Lincoln, was born in 1677.

S^r Stephen Fox, having some concern in a small landed property in Lincolnshire, at or near Aswarby, was accustomed,

¹ *Diaries*, September, 1680.

when he came down into the Country to lodge and board at the Rev^d Mr Hopes'. Whilst he was there Christiana Hopes was born. He stood God-father to her. As she grew up he became very fond of her as a pleasing Child, and used repeatedly, joking, to call her his little Wife (many a true word spoken in joke). When she was grown up he took her to his House : and bred her up as a Companion to his Daughter, and they were educated together. In the course of long habitude, He by degrees grew enamour'd with Her : and finally married her in good earnest unknown to his family. Feeling awkward about announcing it to his Daughter, He took this method. He sent a letter directed to *Lady Fox*. Miss Fox seeing it, said, "By what joke or inadvertence could my Father direct to me in this style." Miss Hopes, that had been and was still supposed to be, answer'd. "It is no mistake : it is directed to me. I have the honor and the happiness of being the Lady Fox to whom this letter is address'd;" : and so all was well, and ended to the happiness of all the Family.¹

Notwithstanding Sir Stephen's great age, four children were born of the marriage, two boys and two girls. One daughter, a twin with Henry, died from a fall in infancy. Lady Fox survived her husband by three years, and passed away in 1719.

Lady Fox's three children were thus left alone in the world at an early age. The two boys, Stephen, born in 1704, and Henry born a year later, were both at Eton at the time, and in due course went on together to Christ Church, Oxford. The daughter, Charlotte, was brought up at home, and subsequently married the Hon. Edward Digby, son of William, fifth Lord Digby.

¹ The memorandum is signed by T. Pownall, who wrote that he had the facts from his grandmother, who was cognisant of them at the time.

STEPHEN, LORD ILCHESTER

After leaving the University, Stephen went abroad. He travelled on the Continent, and during those years struck up a close friendship with John, Lord Hervey, which altered the whole course of his life and that of his brother. Their family tradition had been Tory to the backbone. Henceforth, they were to be found in the opposite camp, and were soon even to be enrolled among the *élite* of the Whig party. Hervey at that time was intimately connected with Sir Robert Walpole, who had skilfully consolidated his position as Chief Minister of the Crown after George II's accession, and henceforth brooked no rivals. The young men had every opportunity, therefore, of embarking upon a successful political career. But Stephen's heart was never in parliamentary work. He preferred the country and field sports to the attractions of town life in general and Westminster in particular. Yet he was elected to the House of Commons in 1735, received a Joint-Secretaryship of the Treasury in 1739, and two years later was elevated to the Barony of Ilchester. From that time forward he took little part in politics. His brother, however, as his influence increased, was always on the look out to do him good service. By his influence, Ilchester was appointed a Comptroller of the Accounts of the Army in 1747, and nine years later he was raised to an earldom.

The strange story of Stephen Fox's marriage has already been told in the present writer's *Life of Henry Fox*. His younger brother, Henry, had some years before fallen under the spell of Susanna Strangways-Horner, although considerably his senior in years, the heiress of the Strangways estates in Dorset, and wife of Thomas Horner of Mells Park in Somerset. Husband and wife were quite unsuited to one another. Susanna was capricious, temperamental and full of ambition. Horner, on the other hand, had few ideals beyond those of the country squire. One daughter,

Elizabeth, was the only offspring vouchsafed to this inauspicious union : and for her Mrs Strangways-Horner began to seek out a desirable husband long before the child had even reached her teens. Her choice eventually lighted on Stephen Fox, and for him she spread her net.

The young lady's father objected. She was then barely thirteen, and not therefore of marriageable age. But Mrs Strangways-Horner was not to be thwarted. She arranged a secret marriage in her future son-in-law's house, 31 Old Burlington Street, on March 15, 1736, at which she herself was present : and followed it up by a second, from which she absented herself, for it was intended to be treated as an elopement. Horner, "the grim obstacle," as his daughter termed him in one of her letters, was naturally furious when the wedding came to his ears, but by degrees relented. The bride returned to her parents ; and it was not until three years later that her married life, which proved one of perfect happiness, can be said to have commenced. Charles Hanbury-Williams, a close friend of both brothers, addressed an ode to Lady Ilchester in 1740, as from her doting husband, which commences :—

Dear Betty, come, give me sweet kisses,
 For sweeter no girl ever gave ;
 But why in the midst of our blisses,
 Do you ask me how many I'd have ?
 I'm not to be stinted in pleasure,
 Then prithee, dear Betty, be kind ;
 For as I love thee beyond measure,
 To numbers I'll not be confined. . . .

Politics had far greater attractions for Henry Fox than for his brother, and he was elected to Parliament in 1735, after more than one fruitless attempt. With Hervey at his back, and with the chance two years later of bringing himself to Walpole's individual notice, his future was

HENRY FOX

assured. He made good, and shortly afterwards received the Surveyorship of the King's Works. It was not long before Sir Robert realised the value of his new recruit to the Party, and on his retirement he passed him on to Henry Pelham, whose most trusted lieutenant he shortly became. And so in 1746 he received the office of Secretary at War.

Of that early period of Henry Fox's life, before his connection with Holland House, few portraits of his intimate friends remain. Hervey is not represented in Kensington: but a half-length portrait of Thomas Winnington, whose death, through mismanagement in an attack of rheumatic fever in 1746, was a sad grief to Fox and his brother, can be seen there, painted by Horace Walpole's protégé, Eccardt, from one belonging to Hanbury-Williams by J. B. Vanloo.

Winnington, Hanbury-Williams and Henry Fox were inseparable in the years before the first-named's death, "*Animæ, quales neque candidiores terra tulit*," alike in the open fields of Salisbury Plain, in Somerset, or in the unhealthier atmosphere of the metropolis.

Oh! Winnington now freely quaff,
Prolong the revel and the laugh . . .

wrote Hanbury-Williams in his *Ode from Henry Harris to Winnington*.¹ And in his *Ode to Henry Fox*, dated 1745:—

When Winnington fatigued with public cares,
With me the social hours of friendship shares;
He too awakes the Muse, and bids me write,
Points out the quarry, and directs my flight:
But while I mention him, all flattery hence,
'Twould wrong our friendship, and 'twould wrong his sense.
In him we find unite, what rarely meet,
Parts join'd with application, sense with wit,

¹ *Life of Sir C. H.-Williams*, by the present writer, pp. 118-9.

A piercing eye, a countenance erect,
 Quick to invent, judicious to correct,
 Warm to attack, but warmer to defend :
 The fairest foe, and the sincerest friend . . .

There are two pictures of Sir Robert Walpole at Holland House—a head and shoulders in Garter robes, and another by Wootton, painted in 1727. The former is probably by Eccardt, after Vanloo. The latter was originally at Melbury, and in Lord Ilchester's house in Old Burlington Street. It represents Sir Robert, standing in Richmond Park, with hounds and riders near-by. In the background is a red-brick house, of two storeys, with attics above. Probably this is the brick lodge referred to in the following extract from a manuscript now in the Pierpont Morgan library, in New York, "Reminiscences," by Horace Walpole, written for the Misses Berry :—

Richmond Park had run to great decay under the Hydes, nor was there any mansion better than the common lodges of the keepers. The King ¹ ordered a stone lodge, designed by Henry, Earl of Pembroke, to be erected for himself, but merely as a banquetting house (it was afterwards enlarged by P^{ss} Amelia, who sold it to George III for a pension on Ireland of £1200 p. ann.), with a large eating room, kitchen and necessary offices, where he might dine after his sport. Sir Robert began another of brick for himself and the Under-Ranger, which by degrees he much enlarged, usually returning thither for business, or rather, as he said, to do more business than he could in town, on Saturdays and Sundays. On that edifice, on the thatched house and other improvements, he laid out £14,000 of his own money.

Another portrait of a very close friend of the family is that of Charles Spencer, fifth Earl of Sunderland and third Duke of Marlborough, by Richardson, a head and

¹ George II.

CHARLES, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH

shoulders, painted in an oval, in a red coat and waistcoat with a white lace tie. As Jonathan Richardson the elder died in 1745, the ascription to him at first sight would appear, from the costume, to be ill-founded. But a large printed label fastened across the back of the picture gives a clue to the enigma :—

This Portrait of Charles Spencer, who became Lord Sunderland upon the death of his Brother in 1728, and upon the death of my Lord Blandford became heir to Harriet Godolphin, Dutchess of Marlborough, and upon her death in 1733 became Duke of Marlborough, was painted by Richardson in a white tye Peruke in the year 1728. It is a very good picture, altered as to the dress by Lord Holland, who loved and still loves his friend Charles Spencer better than any man liveing. The Duke of Ormond said he would not change his dead son Lord Ossory, nor would Lord Holland change his dead friend the Duke of Marlborough for any man now liveing.

The face remains untouched, but the outlines of the wig and the original dress can be easily traced under the later paint.

The Duke was son of Anne, Countess of Sunderland, and therefore grandson of the first Duke. He was on bad terms with his grandmother, the Duchess, the redoubtable Sarah Jennings, after his marriage, in 1732, to Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Trevor. Consequently, she left all the money at her disposal to his brother, John Spencer.

The old Duchess wrote to Henry Fox :—

One Day he made me a visit, which he was very sparing of, and I took the opportunity of talking to him on Marriage, saying that I was very glad he was not so averse to it as he us'd to be, that I had been thinking round the Town and Country to find a Wife for him, but I could not yet see any that I could recommend. What I wish'd him was a Woman with good Sense, good Humour and good Education, of a Creditable Family, not a flaming Beauty, nor an Assembly Lady : but

she should be genteel and Healthy, and for Mony, 'twas no matter whether she had any thing or nothing. I believe most People wou'd have made some obliging Expression in answer to such a Conversation from a Grand-mother. But his good Lordship only reply'd with a stiff Air and disagreeable Voice, "*I won't marry without telling you.*"

Mrs Strangways-Horner was her favoured friend : and she too received a letter in July 1732 :—

What you hear'd concerning my Lord Sunderland's marriage is true. I think it a very improper match for a man that might have had any body, without being at all in Love with the Person, to marry a woman, whose Father is a mighty ridiculous man, a Family of Beggars and all very odd People. The Woman herself (as they say, for I have never seen her) has been bred in a low way and don't know how to behave herself upon any occasions, not at all pretty, and has a mean, ordinary look. As to behaviour, if she has any sense that may mend ; but they say she has very bad teeth, which, I think, is an Objection alone in a Wife. And they will be sure to grow worse with Time.

By Mrs Strangways-Horner's good offices, Fox had become a prime favourite with the old lady. He fought manfully to defend his friend Sunderland against her aspersions, but in vain. Her grandson was a very weak man, she said, and was entirely governed by his sister, Lady Bateman—whom she hated. Yet Fox seems to have lost nothing in the Duchess's estimation by standing up to her.

One other portrait of this period we must mention, which hangs in the same room, the *Inner Library*—that of Admiral Lestock. Lestock was concerned, as second-in-command under Admiral Mathews, in an indecisive action against the French in the Mediterranean, near Toulon, early in 1744. It was an open secret that the two Admirals were mutually antipathetic ; and recriminations followed which resulted in Courts-martial and an Inquiry

ADMIRAL LESTOCK

in the House of Commons. Fox took Mathews, who was a member of the House, severely to task. He wholeheartedly adopted Lestock's cause, and carried a motion against his own chief, Pelham, for a form of procedure which was all in his friend's favour. In the end, Mathews was adjudged unfit for further service. Lestock was honourably acquitted, but died a few months after the result of his trial was made known. He left Fox a service of plate in his will.¹

¹ "A silver tureen, 13 silver dishes, 45 silver plates, 4 plain salts, and two large waiters."

CHAPTER III

1744-1774

FOX AND HIS ASSOCIATES

HENRY FOX had married in 1744. The circumstances of his wedding were almost as romantic as those of his brother. In his case, Lady Georgina Caroline Lennox, eldest daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Richmond, was the lady of his choice. As early as 1733, when the young lady was but ten years old, the brothers had spent Christmas at Goodwood with her parents. Charles, second Duke, was grandson of Charles II and Louise de K roualle, Duchess of Portsmouth; and his wife was Sarah, eldest daughter of William, Earl Cadogan. Unfortunately for the young people, Henry's suit did not find favour in their sight. We do not know the exact reason; but age or station were no doubt, one or both, to blame. Lady Caroline, as she was usually known, came of age in March 1744. Her admirer was thirty-nine—a difference in age of four years only between him and her father.

The mutual affection of the two persons most concerned was strong enough to triumph over every obstacle. First, Fox tried blandishments. He assured the Duke that Lady Caroline's devotion to him was unchanged and unchangeable. Next, he gambled on a certainty. He offered to withdraw for good, if, after a separation of six weeks, her parents could truthfully tell him that the young lady had altered her mind. But all in vain. The Duke and Duchess would take no risks, and were adamant. They prepared to remove their intractable daughter to

regions of safety in the country. There she was to remain for seven or eight months. A story is told by Princess Liechtenstein (we do not vouch for its authenticity), that the Duke announced his intention of bringing a new and very desirable suitor to see her, and that the young lady, in order to safeguard herself, cut off her eyebrows before the time appointed for his arrival.

May 11 was the date of the family's impending departure for Goodwood; and a ball, to be graced by Frederick, Prince of Wales's presence, was arranged for the evening of the 9th. That festive scene was destined never to take place. Lady Caroline slipped out of the house on the morning of the 3rd, and met her future husband at Charles Hanbury-Williams's house in Privy Gardens. There they were married in the presence of the owner of the house and the Duke of Marlborough. The latter gave away the bride. The parson did not even know the names of the persons whom he was marrying. Lady Caroline then returned home, but again escaped on the 8th; and Fox then broke the news to her parents.

Their Graces were wild with rage. They vowed vengeance, and rushed off to Goodwood. Letters of condolence poured in. Everyone who might have been even distantly involved sought to exculpate themselves. Ilchester, with singular lack of humour after his own escapade—or shall we call it lack of courage, expressed surprise and almost horror at what had occurred!

London was stirred to its depths. Walpole announced that the elopement of Princess Caroline would not have created a greater ferment. Hanbury-Williams and Marlborough were given the cold shoulder by a certain section of society. The King was furious; and Hanbury-Williams came within an ace of losing his promised red ribbon of the Bath. But little the conspirators cared, so long as their friend's happiness was secured.

In Henry Fox's case, reconciliation was not so easily arranged as it had been in that of his brother. The pride of the Richmonds was deeply mortified ; and some years elapsed before they would see their erring daughter. During that time her sisters were forbidden to hold intercourse with her ; but her favourite, Emily, after her marriage in 1747 with Lord Kildare, refused to accept the prohibition any longer, and took matters into her own hands. Privately and secretly, however, Richmond was continually inquiring about Lady Caroline's welfare : and after the birth of her eldest son, he sent a communication to her through Ilchester early in 1748, summoning both the delinquents to Richmond House.

A reconciliation followed, and not a moment too soon. The Foxes spent the Christmas of 1749 at Goodwood, and before the next December came round the Duke was dead. He expired suddenly at the age of forty-nine ; while the Duchess never really recovered from the shock and passed away a year later.

At the outset of their married life the Foxes leased Winnington's house in Conduit Street. But about the time of his death, that is to say in 1746, they had begun to look out for a residence on the outskirts of London, where Fox could pass his leisure hours when free from the cares of office. As long as he remained a Minister, however, he was unable to dispense altogether with some lodging in the heart of London, for the scattered villages in the environs were too isolated in those days to allow of speedy communication with the more populous areas. During that year, therefore, as we have seen, he took a lease of Holland House from William Edwardes, and set about the necessary repairs and alterations without delay. To what these amounted we have no record ; nor indeed

HOLLAND HOUSE

have we any knowledge of how the various apartments were used and allotted at that time. Lord Carlisle in 1841 wrote of his belief that Henry Fox chiefly lived in the lower rooms of the House. Probably he was referring to early days only, for there can be little doubt that Fox transformed the long chamber, on the first floor, into a Picture Gallery, but not till after 1760.¹

Fox had always the welfare of his best friends at heart. Thus his first thought was to offer accommodation in his new house to his brother and to Hanbury-Williams. Apparently the room selected for the latter was on the ground floor of the West wing. Hanbury-Williams wrote in June 1748, asking Fox to house the magnificent service of Dresden china which the King of Poland had given him, and suggested that he should "shew it for a sight." His friend replied, "I will put all your china in the Gallery over your apartment at Holland House, where nobody should ever go but to see it." Ilchester had by this time settled down to a country life, both from inclination and from a necessity for retrenchment. His mother-in-law, Mrs Strangways-Horner, had launched out into lavish expenditure on the grounds at Melbury; and Ilchester found it necessary to part with a valuable property near Middlesbrough in the North of England, in order to assist her to meet her liabilities.

The account of a day, in November 1748, in Ilchester's life at Redlynch, his home in Somerset (in the absence, be it said, of his wife, who was often at Bath for the good of her health), may merit a glance, although not strictly in keeping with our theme, in view of the interest which is so generally taken in the domestic life of the eighteenth century.²

If you want to know how *je m'ennuye à la campagne*, I'll tell you. I am call'd at half an hour past eight, seldom rise

¹ Faulkner's *History of Kensington*, p. 150. ² Holland House MSS.

till half an hour past 9, am in the Library before ten, stay there chatting with Julian and Harry till half an hour past eleven, neither of which I love one 20th part so well as Susan,¹ and *d'où vient celà ?* Whence comes that predilection ?

Then to the Forest² for 4 or 5 hours (which stands in lieu of the War Office). Woodcocks scarce, Pheasants and Hares not scarce. By the by, I really shoot exceedingly well ; you cant imagine how few shots I have missed lately. To dinner at 5, always alone, read in the dining room till 7, then adjourn to the Library, drink tea at eight, and then to some book or other till 12. I think myself very happy that I can read any print by candle light as well as ever I could, without the least pain or complaint in my eyes.

Ilchester is represented by two portraits in the House. The first, probably by Enoch Zeeman and painted in 1730, shows him in the rôle of the successful sportsman, gun in one hand, a dead partridge in the other. He was reputed to be one of the best game shots of his day. The second, after Hoare of Bath, was painted at a later date.

No picture of Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams is now to be found at Holland House, although one is mentioned by Faulkner in 1820. It was apparently given by Elizabeth, Lady Holland to her son General Charles Fox ; for it was presented after the latter's death in 1873 by his widow to the National Portrait Gallery, where it now hangs. It has been always attributed to Mengs, but is more probably by Eccardt, painted in 1752.

Hanbury-Williams's intimate friendship for Henry Fox originated about 1739, and continued unbroken until his death twenty years later. He was third son of John Hanbury, of Pontypool, in Monmouthshire, and took

¹ His children. Susan Fox, born 1743 : Juliana Judith, born in 1745, died in 1749 : Henry Thomas, afterwards second Earl of Ilchester, was then little more than a year old.

² Pen Forest, a part of the large woodlands between Stourhead and Wincanton.

the name of Williams on succeeding to a legacy from his godfather, Charles Williams, of Caerleon. Poet, wit and diplomatist, his talents were of no mean order. In his desperate grief at the death of Winnington, his best friend, he left England to take up diplomacy in 1747. Wild and irrepressible in early life, the intricate responsibilities of his official posts at foreign Courts, a life which had always been of far greater interest to him than home politics, altered his whole character. No work was too hard for him in his various missions on the Continent, in Saxony and Poland, for a short time in Prussia, and in Russia. His despatches, preserved in the Record Office, are monuments of clearness and good sense. Some 350 letters written by him to Henry Fox at various times are amongst the Holland House papers, and help us to comprehend the lighter side of his literary attainments. His satirical Odes, an immense asset to his friends in party warfare, as well as a number of verses couched in a more romantic, and be it said sometimes in an erotic vein, were published in 1822.

This reference to Hanbury-Williams leads us to mention Fox's nephew, "Harry" Digby, who accompanied the first-named on his earlier missions as his secretary. His portrait by Reynolds was painted in 1758, the year after his succession to the titles at the death of his brother, "Neddy," who also appears at Holland House in a head and shoulders by Battoni. The two young men were sons of Fox's sister, Mrs Digby, and were constantly with their uncle.

Henry Fox's time was fully occupied in the cares of his post as Secretary at War. Its duties had of old been largely of a routine nature and subordinate to those of the Secretary of State and the Commander-in-Chief. Fox changed all this, and made the office a live one. Besides, the

Duke of Cumberland, who held the latter post, was often abroad on active service. In his absence many of his responsibilities devolved upon Fox.

The next few years of Fox's political career was coloured by his growing friendship for "The Duke," as he was commonly known. Their association had a marked influence on his future, and not altogether a beneficial one. It was to bring him into conflict with Newcastle, and temporarily to a certain degree with Pelham; though he had always made it clear that he would never under any circumstances desert the latter. A further discordant note in his perspective was a growing rivalry between him and William Pitt, who was by then coming to the fore.

The Regency Bill of 1751 increased the differences between the various cliques. In it, Cumberland did not receive the treatment which he considered was his due; and Fox declared himself openly on his side. The Bill was the sequel to Frederick, Prince of Wales's death in 1751. The Princess of Wales mistrusted her brother-in-law, and all her influence was thrown against him. She took offence at Fox's attitude, and her animosity towards him had to be reckoned with in years to come. He was also unfortunate enough, by his determined opposition to Lord Hardwicke's Clandestine Marriage Act two years later, to bring down upon his head the wrath of its promoter, who was a power in the State and had besides, at that period, the ear of the King.

At this supreme crisis in Fox's career, Pelham's health suddenly gave way. He died early in 1754. "Now I shall have no more peace," was George II's weary comment, when the news was broken to him. The prophecy was not far distant from the truth. Lord Chancellor Hardwicke was sent for to advise the King. Everything that he said was designed to appreciate Newcastle and to depreciate Fox. The former was designated to succeed his

brother ; and under the preliminary arrangements a Secretaryship of State was apportioned to Fox. But difficulties arose on the disposition of the secret service money and the lead in the House of Commons, and Newcastle drew back from his promise. Fox declined to accept the Secretaryship on any terms except those which he believed to have been originally offered. "What can't be done with honour," he wrote to the Duke of Richmond, "can't be done at all."

So Fox remained at the War Office, and for the next few months did all he could, with Pitt's aid, to thwart his Chief at the head of the Government. Newcastle was one of those politicians whose one consistent line of policy was to obtain power and retain it at all costs. He was timid and vacillating, but he managed to keep his position by fawning on those whom he feared and by playing on their susceptibilities. The sums which he expended during his lifetime from his private purse on buying support and bribing the electorate, would soon have forced anyone but a man of vast means to seek refuge in a Court of Bankruptcy. Often the laughing-stock of his contemporaries, he carried but little real weight ; and ludicrous stories were told of his peculiarities.

Such was the man under whom Fox was now serving, and from whom, at the end of 1754, to his lasting discomfiture, he decided to accept Cabinet rank. By doing so he brought about a definite breach with Pitt, and allied himself with men whose sole intention was to make the best use of his talents and then cast him to the dogs. For the moment he had everything his own way. Before the end of the year he was Secretary of State and leader of the House of Commons, and besides secured office for some of his friends. Without his aid Newcastle must have fallen. Fox's strong arm maintained the Government in power ; and it was not till twelve months later that he learned to his cost the value of Newcastle's gratitude.

Before the end of 1756 Fox had resigned, and after his departure Newcastle's fall was not long delayed. A short-lived Administration followed under the unwilling Devonshire, with Pitt, much to the King's annoyance, as Secretary of State. Fox remained in retirement, prepared to support his friend Devonshire, but equally determined to thwart Pitt. The latter, furious at the treatment which the King meted out to him, left the Government in April, and for over ten weeks England was without a Ministry in the midst of the Seven Years' War. Fox tried hard to form an Administration, but all in vain; and in the end Newcastle came back to power, with Pitt as his chief lieutenant.

Fox then took the Paymastership, sacrificing ambition to dreams of avarice, and thereby incurring a stigma in succeeding generations, with which his name will always be associated. The emoluments of his new office were very great; but according to the ideas of his contemporaries they were legitimately earned, and on those ideas he should be judged. Pitt, almost alone among Paymasters of that period, declined to lay out surplus sums of public money to interest for his own benefit. The practice is indefensible according to present-day notions, yet no one, up to the end of George II's reign, had thought any worse of those who employed it. A further scandal, which drew attention to the whole matter, was the delay in making up Paymasters' accounts. These often were not adjusted until six or seven years after their successors had taken office; but the system was the fault of the Treasury, not of the individual. In Fox's case, every penny which was adjudged to be owing to the country was in due course paid up by his heirs with interest.

Fox was not allowed to remain long inactive in the seclusion of the Pay Office. His patron Cumberland had been worsted in his campaign in Germany, and had

been forced to conclude the inglorious Convention of Klosterzeven. Fox was soon driven to take up the cudgels on his behalf; for the King, to save his own face, proceeded to disavow his son's authority to conclude the treaty. As soon as Cumberland reached England he sent for Fox. The latter's correspondence seems to indicate that Cumberland had right on his side, and that he had even done remarkably well in obtaining better terms than could have been deemed probable. In the face of the King's attitude, however, his son resigned all his offices and retired to the country.

The Duke was an administrator of the very highest order, but in the field he proved consistently unsuccessful. His frame and constitution were not adapted for active pursuits. He became immensely fat after a serious illness in Holland in 1748, at the age of twenty-seven, and subsequently lost the sight of one eye. His weight was estimated at twenty stone, for the purposes of a curious lawsuit in 1757. A man had backed himself to produce an individual of double the Duke's weight, and brought a man of 42 stone to the scales!

To those who study the fine marble bust by Rysbrack at Holland House, signed and dated 1754, the unhealthiness of his physiognomy is very apparent for so young a man. The left side of his face, swollen out of all proportion, gives him a lopsided expression, which is corroborated by Reynolds's portrait at the National Portrait Gallery. He is also portrayed in Kensington in uniform on a grey horse, a painting by David Morier.

Fox's estrangement from Cumberland, during the last three years of his former patron's life, was one of the sorrows of his declining years. The Duke had veered towards Newcastle and the prosecution of the German war, while Fox was sheering off in the opposite direction towards a policy of peace and a growing friendship with

Bute. The actual moment of their breach was that of Fox's promotion to the Cabinet in 1762. The latter made several attempts at reconciliation, but all in vain, and before the end of 1765 Cumberland had passed to his grave.

During the first five years of his Paymastership Fox was but little in the public eye, notwithstanding the stupendous character of the events which were taking place all over the globe. During that time the tension of the war was at its height. Even the commencement of a new reign in 1760 did not draw him from retirement. But although his position at Court was far less favourable than it had been under George II, he did not for a moment relax his efforts to obtain a peerage. This he had long coveted. His early attempts in this direction were doomed to failure. But circumstances drove him into the arms of the new King's favourite adviser, John, Earl of Bute ; and in April 1762, Lady Caroline was gazetted Baroness Holland in her own right. By this time Bute, whose policy was peace at all costs, was chief Minister. Pitt had been forced from office ; and Newcastle resigned a few months later, finding his position insupportable.

George III had his own ideas as to how the country should be governed, based on the principles in which he had been educated, and with the help of Bute set about to put them into action. First, peace had to be secured : and as soon as the preliminaries were arranged, the Court looked about for someone to force their passage through an unwilling House of Commons. Fox was the man, if he could be secured : and, caught in the mood, no one could do the job better. His talent for manipulating votes and for influencing the waverer had long ago been fully recognized. Lord Shelburne, a follower of Bute



HENRY FOX

First Lord Holland

From the engraving by McArdeU of a portrait by Liotard



THE PEACE OF PARIS

and son of an old friend of Fox, was put forward to negotiate with him. A bargain was soon struck, and by the end of 1762 Fox was leader of the House of Commons and a Cabinet Councillor. He refused the offer of a Secretaryship of State.

Intimidation and corruption went hand in hand for the next few months. None was safe from dismissal, from the highest in the land to the lowest. Traffic in the sale of votes was shameless. Fox's efforts, however, were crowned with complete success. Peace was carried in the Lower House by a majority of five to one. But at what cost to himself? The magnitude of his operations at the Pay Office had already scandalised the man in the street. And now on the top of the unpopularity which he had thus earned, the whole responsibility for the relentless persecution of his late colleagues and for wholesale bribery were laid at his door.

As soon as the peace was an accomplished fact, Bute, terrified of the outcry which he had raised against himself, unexpectedly announced his intention of retiring. Fox might possibly have succeeded him at the Treasury, had he so willed: but his wife would not allow it. It would make her miserable, she said, and it would kill him. George Grenville, therefore, became Chief Minister, and formed a new Government.

And now at last Fox obtained his long-desired peerage. He became Lord Holland, "Baron, of Foxley, Wiltshire," and took his seat in the Upper House on April 19, 1763. But suddenly to his amazement and horror he found that he was expected to give up the Paymastership in exchange for his new honour. This unlooked for complication was the result of a misunderstanding between him and Shelburne. The latter was young: and being inexperienced in negotiations of this kind, probably allowed matters to drift along, without thought of putting them

on a clear footing. The episode is known in the annals of the times as the "Pious fraud," from a reputed conversation between Fox and Bute, in which the latter is said to have made use of the phrase. "I can see the fraud plainly enough," replied Fox, "but where is the piety?" In the sequel the latter imputed the worst motives to Shelburne, and broke off all connection with him: although for the moment he was allowed to have his way and retain the Pay Office. We shall have occasion to refer to Shelburne's own version of the story in a later chapter.

The loss of Shelburne's friendship and connection was a matter of no serious import to Lord Holland, as we must now call him. But it was different in the case of his two intimates, Calcraft and Rigby, who both deserted and sided against him. John Calcraft was his distant relation, through the family of his mother, the Hopes, and was behoven to him for countless benefits, both as his secretary at the War Office, and for special opportunities for feathering his own nest as agent for various regiments. Out of the Government loan in 1763 alone, Calcraft was said to have cleared £7,000. His ingratitude, therefore, stands out all the more vividly. Holland wrote of him:—

His bad nature could not bear to be so much oblig'd. I am told, and I believe, that I owe his ingratitude to nothing else. Tacitus, I think, says that it is in human nature that a man may be oblig'd into being a bitter enemy. But could I suspect such a nature? A man who could have such suspicion must be miserably wise indeed. Suspicion carry'd as far as that,

"Siculi non invenere tyranni
Tormentum majus."

Rigby's defection, however, was by far the greatest blow of all: and the callous manner in which their affectionate relations were broken off completed the disillusionment. "I took him to be a very honest man,"

wrote Holland. "I lov'd him excessively ; others wiser than me knew him better. I have nothing to say for this mistake, which has given me more pain than any." He had stopped Rigby's carriage in St James's Street, and was proceeding to expatiate on his treatment by Shelburne and Calcraft, when Rigby blurted out, "You tell your story of Shelburne ; *he* has a damned one to tell of you. I do not trouble myself which is the truth." And then pushing Holland roughly aside, he told the coachman to drive on !

More far-reaching in its results than Calcraft's change of attitude was this sudden animosity of Rigby. He had been originally a follower of Frederick, Prince of Wales, and at the latter's death transferred his allegiance to John, Duke of Bedford. He went with Bedford to Ireland as Chief Secretary, when the latter, at Fox's persuasion, accepted the Lord-Lieutenancy in 1756. His counsel and opinion ever afterwards carried great weight with his Grace. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that a sudden coolness sprang up about this time in the relations between Holland and Bedford, though they had for years been intimate friends. Bedford had been Plenipotentiary to arrange the preliminaries of the Peace of Paris in 1762, and although he had quarrelled with Lord Bute in the course of the negotiations, his intercourse with Holland had remained uniformly pleasant, and his correspondence manifests approval of the latter's action in taking office. But suddenly all was changed, much to Holland's disgust and sorrow. He put it down largely to the Duchess's dislike of Bute, and to his own defence of him. Indeed, so offended was he, that he could not bring himself to forget the slight a few years later, when his eldest son Stephen Fox married the niece of the Bedfords. He civilly repulsed the Duke's attempts to bring about a reconciliation, and flatly declined to receive him or his Duchess.

Another who had broken away from Holland at this time was Horace Walpole, who was an intimate friend of both the brothers Fox, especially in early life. He had assisted Henry towards reconciliation with the Richmonds : and his pen was responsible for a "genuine careless letter," addressed to Lady Caroline in 1748, and published in *The World* of 1756, belauding his friend's character and talents.¹ On his return one night from Holland House, early in November 1749, he was attacked by two highwaymen in Hyde Park, and narrowly escaped a serious wound from the accidental discharge of one of their pistols.² Walpole always strongly opposed the Pelham clique, and from the time that Fox, neglecting his advice, threw in his lot with Newcastle, their relations became less cordial. Their correspondence, however, continued regularly until the last few years of Holland's life.

Among the interesting relics of that period which remain in the House is a coloured wax relief of Prospero Lambertini, Pope Benedict XIV, which figured in the Strawberry Hill sale of 1842. Walpole had always evinced a special predilection for that Prelate, and when, in 1757, the Pope was reported to be at the point of death, he wrote the following eulogium, which is inscribed on the back in Walpole's own handwriting, and which is referred to at some length in the latter's correspondence with Mann.³

Prospero Lambertini, Bishop of Rome by the name of Benedict 14th, who, tho an absolute Prince, reigned as harmlessly as a Doge of Venice. He restored the lustre of the Tiara by those arts alone, by which alone He obtained it, his Virtues. Beloved by Papists, esteemed by Protestants : a Priest without

¹ See *Life of Henry Fox*, i, 146. ² *Letters*, ed. Toynill, i, xl.

³ *Ibid.*, iv, 66. Walpole to Mann, June 20, 1757. *Mann and Manners at the Court of Florence*, i, 412, et seq.

insolence or interest : a Prince without favourites : a Pope without nepotism ; an Author without vanity : In short a Man whom neither wit nor power could spoil.

The Son of a favourite Minister, but one who never courted a Prince nor worshipped a Churchman, offers, in a free protestant country, this deserved incense to the best of the Roman Pontiffs. 1757.

In his letter to Mann he wrote :—

If the good soul is still alive, and you could do it unaffectedly and easily, you may convey it to him. It must be a satisfaction to a good heart to know that in so distant a country, so detached from his, his merit is acknowledged without a possibility of interest entering into the consideration. His death-bed does not want comfort or cheerfulness, but it may be capable of an expansion of heart that may still sweeten it !

The Pope recovered, but died a year later. He was delighted with the compliment paid him by “ Volpole,” as he called him. “ He was so well pleased with it that he made everyone read it who came to him.” He even caused the inscription to be translated into Italian.

The diminution in the circle of Holland’s friends was one of the tragedies of the later years of his life. Hervey, Winnington and Pelham were long since dead. More recently still Hanbury-Williams, Henry Harris, a constant companion and regular correspondent, and Marlborough had passed from the ken of man, and, worse still, Cumberland and Devonshire had quarrelled with him shortly before their deaths ; while the society of Bedford, Rigby, Calcraft, Dr Francis and others of that clique were lost to him for ever. A few of his old associates, however, such as John Campbell, of Cawdor, and Welbore Ellis, afterwards Lord Mendip, remained true to him ; and the list was complemented by new faces.

George Selwyn was perhaps the most intimate of these later friends. His affection for the Fox family did not cease with Holland's death, but remained constant towards his daughter-in-law, Lady Mary Fox, and his son Charles James. He was everywhere a welcome guest ; for his social qualities, his wit and quickness of repartee were unequalled. Self-assurance can overcome most difficulties : and for barefaced effrontery George Selwyn was hard to beat. "Selwyn go's," wrote Henry Fox to his wife, of George III's Coronation, "upon the place where the King is crown'd as Assistant to the Wardrobe. He walks as a Gent. of the Privy Chamber, and he carrys an Ewre and Bason to the King as Lord of the Manour of Carrington. He has nothing to do with the Wardrobe, the Privy Chamber or the Manour of Carrington, but has scrambled and got appointed for all."

Fox added a further story of that ceremony, "Lady Harrington complained much of the short walk with Lady Portsmouth. 'Why, Madam,' says Selwyn, 'What do's that signify ?' 'Why,' says she, 'she is such a monstrous figure, and wears a great wig, and walks along with a great stick.' 'She'll be taken,' says Selwyn, 'for a constable that has taken you up.'"

Selwyn's presence at the christening of George, Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV, was another good example of his methods :—

"The means of my being at the christning, if you ask the cause, was my insatiable curiosity ; if the means of my admittance, *an air de protection*, that very often imposes on those who ought to demand my credentials. I have gott an admittance a hundred times in my life, by ordering a door-keeper in a peremptory way to admit no more at his peril than two gentlemen who have happened to stand near me in the crowd, and who have been astonished at their access and my impudence. I walked up, and then on to the Sanctum Sanctorum without the least

opposition. I know no more of my manner of admittance than that."

Selwyn's idiosyncrasies were numerous. Among them were his love of executions and the peculiar attraction which corpses, especially those of his friends, afforded him. Holland wrote to him in 1770 of Charles Yorke, "He was very ugly while he lived. How did he look when he was dead?" Holland's message to him shortly before his own death is well known. "The next time Mr Selwyn calls," were the instructions, "show him up. If I am alive I shall be delighted to see him, and if I am dead he will be glad to see me."

In this connection, Selwyn's letter to Holland, describing the fall of the Grenville Ministry in 1765, is characteristic:—

The political curtain has been drawn and the new play rehearsed. You are not, I suppose, at a loss to know who are the new personæ dramatis; but, for more certainty, I will subjoin a list to this letter before it is sealed up. The usual comparison of an execution was never better adapted than to the scene at which I was present last Wednesday. I was with many others myself on the scaffold, and can testify that I have seen turning off very often have less effect on the human features than turning out. *Jemmy Twitcher*¹ died like a cock. I dined with all the culprits afterwards at *Guerchy's*. *Halifax's* behaviour was manly. I sate next to *Lady W.*² at dinner, who seemed to feel much for the loss of her Royal dignity. I thought she seemed to say like *Andromache*,

"Behold how low they have reduced a Queen!"

... Mr G. has been very civil to me, and I felt for him. I would have painted him myself with some of *M^e de Boufflers'* rouge, if he would have lett; but painted he has been enough, God knows. I do assure it has made me sick of executions.

¹ Lord Sandwich.

² Lady Weymouth, her husband had been recently appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

FOX AND HIS ASSOCIATES

I have been very desirous to get an authentic copy of the dying speeches, but they are not all come out. I have only heard that lewd women brought them to this end. Twitcher died like one of the Rebel Lords in 'fifteen : he made only a low bow, and recommended his son to his Majesty's mercy. They all declare that, if the Prince who now reigns had spared their lives, they would never have taken up more arms against him. . . .

The stories told of the former Ministers exceed all belief, and are strongly denied. It puts me much in mind of w^t I've read of the D^{ss} of Marlborough's Ministry. You remember the Queen's speech to her at parting, "I don't doubt, Lady Dutchess, but many lies have been told ; but there is truth enough left." It is a pity people cant be sure how they will feel in the situation to which they wantonly expose themselves. But as Ld Cowper told the condemned Lords, their minds were filled with the hopes of persons who are to live in this world. They died much unprepared, that is the truth of it ; I wish it had not been so. I met with civilities from them ; and their successors I have no connection with but what a little hazard or trente-quarante has given me.

Beyond a long series of letters, nothing remains at Holland House to recall Fox's friendship for Selwyn, except a small pencil sketch, and this too is of later date. It was taken from the well-known picture of Selwyn and Frederick, fifth Earl of Carlisle, by Reynolds, and was executed by John Jackson.

Another new-comer to Kensington at this time was Lady Mary Coke. She was the youngest daughter of John, Duke of Argyll, and married Edward, Viscount Coke, only son of Sir Thomas Coke, Earl of Leicester, in 1746. The marriage was an unhappy one from the very start : and a separation followed. Lord Coke died in 1753 ; and after a suitable period of mourning, this fasci-

nating widow of twenty-seven gravitated to the Court. Her affection for Edward, Duke of York, who had little in common with his brother, King George III, checked the pretensions of would-be suitors, and lapsed only with his death in 1767. No breath of scandal had sullied their relations : but Lady Mary's passion for the reigning family led her subsequently to compromise her position by usurping the airs and graces of a Royal widow ! In the June of that year, she rented from Mr Edward Lloyd a house on the high ground overlooking Notting Hill, only separated from the grounds of Holland House by a new footpath to the Acton Road, which Holland had dedicated to the public in 1766. The house, now known as Aubrey House, stood in a demesne of thirteen acres.¹ There she established herself for more than twenty years.

Lord and Lady Holland had gone abroad shortly after Lady Mary took up her abode in Kensington, and did not reappear in England until May 1768. After their return, an intimacy sprung up between Lady Mary and Lady Holland, which lasted unbroken until the latter's death in 1774. Lady Mary often breakfasted and dined at Holland House, and at times attended services at the chapel attached to it. We find numerous allusions to the northern part of the Holland House property in her *Letters and Journals*.² In 1768 she took a lease for twenty-one years from Lady Holland of "a little piece of ground" at the end of her garden.³ In the following May the latter offered to have some vistas cut for her through the trees in her grounds ; and Lady Mary praised the views as "extremely fine."⁴

After the fall of the Grenville Ministry, Lord Rock-

¹ Miss Gladstone's *Aubrey House*.

² Privately printed.

³ *Letters and Journals*, ii, 421.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iii, 68, 81.

ingham was sent for by the King, and formed a Government which lasted exactly a year. Two months earlier, Holland had received his dismissal from the Pay Office. This time the blow came as no surprise. He laid all the blame for it upon the Bedford party, and found good proof that his suspicions were correct. Notwithstanding this rebuff, he did not despair of obtaining another step in the peerage. An earldom was now his goal ; but his efforts were as unavailing as they were again a year later, when he took upon himself to write a direct appeal to the King. His health was failing, and much of his time was spent abroad, or at that singular residence which he had built for himself at Kingsgate, in the Isle of Thanet. He was still able, however, to enjoy life sufficiently to amuse himself in the fine weather at Holland House when in England, and to pass the winters in the London residence which he erected in Piccadilly. That portion of the Albany which faces Piccadilly is perhaps part of it, although after his death the house was remodelled for Lord Melbourne by Sir William Chambers.

Holland had finally concluded his purchase of Holland House from the Edwardes Trustees in 1768, and the estate was made over to his wife. A contract had been drawn up in 1767 ; but difficulties as to a title arose, to settle which Parliament was finally invoked. An Act, "To confirm the Contract of 1767 and to quiet the Title to the Estate," was passed in 1768. "I pay a great deal more for Holland House," wrote Holland to his brother Ilchester, "than anything but Lady Holland's extreme fondness for it could make it worth."¹

¹ A curious coincidence in this connection must be mentioned. Some twenty years ago the present Lord Grantley, in clearing out an old cupboard, came on two Manor plans relating to Kensington, almost exactly similar to the Fuller Surveys of 1694/5. They were apparently copied, in July 1734, for William Edwardes, whose coat-of-arms they



THE HISTORY OF THE PARTICULARS
OF THE LIFE OF THE LATE
JAMES OGLETHORPE, ESQ.
BY JOHN OGLETHORPE, ESQ.
OF THE BARR



HOLLAND HOUSE CHANGES HANDS

The land purchased was practically that shown in Fuller's Survey on the North side of the "Great Road" to Brentford. This block was, to all intents and purposes, bounded by that road (now the High Street) on the South : by a ditch, known as "the Sewer," somewhat on the line of the present Addison Road Railway, on the West :¹ by the Road to Acton and Uxbridge on the North : and by what is now known as Holland Walk on the East. It did not, however, include the farm known as "Little Holland House," which was purchased a few years later.²

During the last four years of his life the old man was tormented by the extravagance of his two elder sons ; and their debts were making huge inroads into the family fortunes. He was failing rapidly all the while, and his devoted wife was in no better plight. He died on July 1, 1774 ; and twenty-three days later Lady Holland rejoined him in another world.

bear, by J. Johnson and W. Brasier. These (the second being a map of the Manor of Abbot's Kensington), Lord Grantley gave to his Solicitor, Mr now Sir Francis Fladgate, who acted in that capacity to the Holland Park Estate, and who has recently and kindly passed them on to the writer. No doubt Lord Grantley's ancestor, Sir Fletcher Norton, who was out of office in 1767 and 1768, was called in as Counsel, and apparently retained the maps in his possession.

¹ After crossing the "Great Road," at Counter's Bridge, "the Sewer" ran South-East, and emptied into Chelsea Creek and the Thames.

² It may be noted that the copy of Fuller's Survey by Johnson and Brasier shows a few slight changes and adds a few names. John Rocque's *Surveys of the Environs of London*, 1745, also gives little alteration, but his small scale *Survey*, 1746, and his larger one *London and ten Miles Round*, 1741-5, engraved in sixteen sheets by Richard Parr, curiously enough do show minor differences.

CHAPTER IV

1750-1764

THE RICHMOND FAMILY

THE Richmond family are well represented among the series of portraits which adorn the walls of the House. Charles II is there, and also Louise de K roualle, whom he created Duchess of Portsmouth. She had also received the title of Duchesse d'Aubigny from Louis XIV, and resided at the *ch teau* of that name in the old province of Berry after her return to France. Henry Fox, seemingly with insight into the future, is said to have paid his future wife's ancestress a visit there on his first trip to France in 1725. Her portrait and that of her son, aged three or four, created Duke of Richmond about that time, were painted by Verelst. Next comes his son, the second Duke, painted by Vanloo, a replica of a picture at Goodwood. Close to him hangs the portrait of his wife ; but the artist in her case is not known. It was painted long after those years when her radiant beauty took all London by storm. As Lady Sarah Cadogan, daughter of William, Earl Cadogan, she had been married from the nursery to Lord March, then a youth of barely eighteen, to settle a gambling debt. The young man went so far as to protest strongly : " Surely," said he, " they are not going to marry me to that dowdy ? " Married they were, and off went March with a tutor to make the Grand Tour. His wife returned to her mother and her schoolroom. A few years later the young man returned home, harbouring resentment in his heart at the idea of being tied to a girl of whom he had no prepossessing recollections. On arrival, chance

THE SECOND DUKE AND DUCHESS

turned his steps to the Opera. There, during an interval, he observed an especially lovely face in one of the boxes, and asked who the fair one might be. "Surely you must be a stranger to London," came the reply, "not to know the beautiful Lady March." It was his own wife! So happily did they live, that she died of a broken heart within twelve months of the Duke's death.

Four sons and five daughters were born of the marriage. The third son, Charles—the first three Dukes all bore the same christian name, was born in 1735, and having survived his two elder brothers, succeeded to the titles on his father's death. A proper young scamp he must have been for fifteen and a half, if we are to judge by his account of evenings spent at Vauxhall and Ranelagh, written to Henry Fox, in 1750. It is interesting to notice the spirit of intimacy and outspoken confidence with which he was evidently accustomed to treat his guardian and brother-in-law. But in Fox's case that is no matter for surprise. He had an extraordinary knack of putting the younger generation at their ease; and they knew that in him they were always certain of finding a sympathetic listener.

I was at Vaux Hall tother night with Miss Townsend, when she begun to tell me I was troublesome; but I told Her I knew it and would be so, and persisted, as she calld it, teasing her the whole night, especialy after I Drunk her health in six half-pint bumpers in Champagne, besides some super numeral bumpers which made me damnably drunk, but not stupidly so. The Angel went out of town last Friday, yesterday se'night I mean, till November, with a dam'd long face. But I have learnt from the little experience I have, nott to care a farthing for one woman more than another so as to make me self uneasy about her or any one else. I say every thing that is fine, squeeze their hands, tell them they are angels, &c, . . . never meaning a word I say, and not caring for them when they are out of my sight. I have sometimes err'd from this rule, but upon the whole am not captivated by one woman.

THE RICHMOND FAMILY

I alway make myself, wherever I am, as easy as possible. In the midst of my jollity I was packt to Hampton Court for a week, but I diverted myself as well as I could in so mussy a place, especially one day in the maze with a very pretty girl. . . .

When I came to town from Hampton Court I went to Vaux Hall, as the likeliest place to see her in, but there I heard she was gone into the country. Mr Pitt was there with a Miss Patty Rigby, sister to the Rigby you know. I never saw her before. There was besides S^r Harry Englefield and two pretty Miss Barkers, but nott so clever as Miss Rigby, who (Miss Rigby), as soon as she came in, mistook George,¹ who was with me, for the youngest Master Bishop, said, "I kissed you last night and will again to night," which she did. George was vastly ashamed. She asked his pardon and said she would give him another if He would, but he run away and said he left me his proxy, which office I acquitted very tolerably, with half a dozen more of my own behind Mr Pitt's back at supper, for I was soon acquainted. Pitt and all the others took a walk in the dark walks. Pitt and she seperated from the rest, for it seems she likes him. S^r Harry with one of the Miss Barkers, I with tother, and returned home very well contented, after having made an appointment to meet Miss Rigby there the next night. They were what we call modest girls, that is, not common whores of the town.

I was at Vaux Hall as you may imagine, where I supped with Rigby, next box to S^r George Vandeput, and drunk L^d Trentham's health as loud as we could and confusion to the Independant Electors,² and after supper diverted myself with Patty Rigby in the dark walks as well as I could wish. Very well, I think, for the second time I ever saw her. I was again last night at Ranelagh, where I could do nothing but kiss Miss Rigby in the box, as there were no dark walks there. The Devil take it for having no dark walks. For God's sake never mention Miss Rigby's name to any mortal, nott even to Lord Kildare. For one should never kiss and tell. Besides you

¹ Lord George Lennox, his brother.

² A reference to a Westminster election.

THE THIRD DUKE

know, if it was known, what would be the consequence. Hi ! ho ! But all my jollity is over. For the day after tomorrow I march off to Goodwood for the rest of the hollyday. However I shall divert myself as well as I can.

The Duchess had been left sole guardian to the children by the Duke's will ; and after her death they were placed under the joint care of the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Albemarle, Lord Kildare, Lord Cadogan and Henry Fox. The new Duke was sent off to travel on the Continent, and after his marriage, in 1757, he settled down to his Parliamentary duties, and subsequently held many high offices in the State. He became a firm friend and supporter of William Pitt, the younger, whom he survived by one year, dying in 1806. His picture painted by Pompeo Battoni in Florence, during his travels, with two favourite spaniels, hardly does him full justice, if in reality he was one of the handsomest men of his day, as we are told.

His younger brother, Lord George Lennox, born in 1737, was a boy at Westminster school at the time of his father's death. Less precocious seemingly than his brother, his passion was for field sports. He and his pony, "Fat Jack," were well known with the hounds in Sussex, and the object of his chief affection at the age of nine was a tame fox !

Muse, sing of neither ass nor ox,
But Fanny, dear Lord George's Fox.
Fanny, a Fox of such renown,
That search the country and the town,
The Teggless, Charlton, and Rook's Hill,
Where Hounds and Horns your ears do fill,
They can't another Fox afford
So well belov'd by Fanny's Lord.
Think then, how much unlucky matters fall,
Whilst one is here, the other's at Whitehall.
Oh Fates ! Bring Fan to Goodwood down,
Or send Lord Georgy up to Town.

So wrote Sam Chandler, nicknamed the "Sussex Laureate;" nor is this the only occasion on which Lord George's exploits in the field appear in verse.¹

Practically no provision for Lord George's future had been made in his father's will, but the oversight was remedied by the joint efforts of Newcastle and Fox. They managed to obtain for him the reversion of a £500 pension on Ireland, and later an ensigncy in the Coldstream Guards. We have his picture by Reynolds, three-quarter length, seated, in uniform, and painted in 1760 or 1761.

Near at hand, too, hangs the portrait of his sister-in-law, Mary, Duchess of Richmond, also by Reynolds, painted between 1765 and 1767, in Peeress's robes. Lady Mary Bruce, only child of Charles, Earl of Elgin and Ailesbury, married the young Duke in 1757. Walpole wrote of the union² :—"It is the perfectest match in the world; youth, beauty, riches, alliances, and all the blood of all the Kings from Robert Bruce to Charles II. They are the prettiest couple in England, except the father-in-law and mother."³ He spoke later of the attachment of Prince Edward, Duke of York, the King's brother, to the Duchess, and never neglected an opportunity to refer to her beauty. She is constantly mentioned in the family correspondence as "the Lovely."

At the time of the second Duke of Richmond's death, only two of his daughters, Lady Caroline and Lady Emily, were married. The latter in 1747 had become the wife of James, Earl of Kildare, created Duke of Leinster in 1766.

¹ See *A Duke and His Friends*, by the late Duke of Richmond, from which the above verses are taken. Vol. ii, 434.

² *Letters*, ed. Toynbee, iv, 43.

³ Walpole refers to his friend, Hon. Henry Seymour-Conway, who was Lady Ailesbury's second husband.

LADY KILDARE

Her father had refused even to think about the match until she reached the age of fifteen. Another objection besides that of age was, according to Walpole,¹ "a ridiculous notion" that the family was addicted to the complaint known as "the King's Evil." But the young man delayed not an hour on her birthday to return to the charge, and finally won her parents' consent. From the day of her marriage Lady Kildare renewed her intimacy with her sister Caroline, which had been so rudely interrupted by the latter's marriage. She was always a favourite of Henry Fox, and was allowed to tease and bully him to her heart's content. "I am glad," she wrote at the time when Ilchester received his step in the peerage, "that your Brother is made an Earl. He is a sweet man worth a thousand of you, much better humoured, ten thousand times better bred, much livelier, and I believe full as clever : only that you have a cunning, black devilish countenance, and he has a cheerful, pleasant one : you are an ambitious, vain toad, and he likes to live quietly in the country."

Walpole related² that in 1752 or 1753 at a party at Bedford House, he drew together Lady Kildare, Lady Coventry (the famous Miss Gunning) and Mrs Penelope Pitt, afterwards Lady Rivers, and told them that he wanted to decide which was the handsomest. They said he should declare. Walpole replied that it was a hard task, but that he would do so since they insisted. He then gave the palm to Lady Kildare, because she could do what both the others tried to do without success—blush.

Fox, for his part, though devoted to his charming sister-in-law, regarded Lady Coventry's beauty as second to none. He spoke of her as "more beautiful than an angel," and wrote to his wife in 1751, "I was last night at Norfolk House, where Lady Coventry danced, as well as

¹ *Letters*, ed. Toynbee, ii, 186.

² *Memoirs of the Reign of George III*, iii, 191.

looked better than anyone. I never saw anyone at all near to her or like her.”¹ His friend Hanbury-Williams described her beauty in like manner, as surpassing that of any woman whom he had ever seen. He would like, he wrote, “to look at Lady Coventry’s face for two hours, for, as Mr Dryden said,

‘The Power of beauty I remember yet,
Which once enflamed my mind and still inspires my wit.’”

It is sad to think how short was the life of such transcendent loveliness. Lady Coventry died in 1760, of that foul scourge of all times, consumption. So devastating to her looks were the ravages of the disease, that in its later stages she took to her bed, saw no one, and awaited death by the light of a lamp. Yet even so, she was jealous of all possible rivals, and was terrified at the arrival in London of Lady Kildare’s sister, Louisa, in 1759 after her marriage. “But now I have seen her,” said she, “I am easy.”²

The future of the three unmarried Lennox daughters was settled by their father’s will. It was ordained that they were to live with the Kildares till the age of fifteen, and with the Foxes for the next three years. The elder of the three, Louisa, became engaged to a near neighbour of the Kildares in Ireland, Thomas Conolly, of Castletown, before the time came for her to move to England. The Conollys lived chiefly in Ireland. He was a distinguished figure in public life in that country, and sat also in the English House of Commons for a number of years. Castletown was one of the great houses in the neighbourhood

¹ It is amusing to read that Charles James Fox, at the age of fifteen, fancied himself in love with her sister the Duchess of Hamilton.

² Walpole’s *Letters*, iv, 265.

of Dublin : and there Lady Louisa seems to have struck out a line for herself, which was rare in those days of punctilio and ceremony.

Louisa does not *seek* enlarging her acquaintance, for she has so many more than she can manage (leading a country life) that she could not do it all, but for the footing which her *peculiar* character has established, and which nobody but herself could venture at. And indeed I believe it is because she *aims* at nothing, that so great an allowance is *given her* : for do you know that she scarce visits anybody, nor does she receive visits dropping in at any odd times. But she now and then goes to town to see the world, and there she says with such a civil, good-natured face that she is to blame, and tells the people it will be so good-natured of them to shew forgiveness by coming and dining with her such a day, that they come : they see that she has ten thousand occupations and enjoys her home, so they go away pleased with their reception, and bid her never think of a formal visit.¹

Holland House contains a full-length portrait of Lady Louisa by Allan Ramsay, painted in 1759,² and a first-rate head of her husband by Reynolds. Ramsay certainly painted four of the five sisters. We do not know of any picture by him of Lady Sarah. Three of these remain in the House, but the fourth appears to have been given by Elizabeth, Lady Holland, to the third Duke of Leinster in 1841, after her husband's death. Lady Cecilia died in 1769 of consumption at the early age of nineteen. Ramsay painted her and also the first Duke of Leinster.

Lady Sarah Lennox was born in 1745. We obtain our first glimpse of her at the age of four or five, when she broke from her French nurse, who was watching the daily promenade of the Royal Family in the Broad Walk in

¹ *Life and Letters of Lady Sarah Lennox*, i, 277.

² A drawing for the picture is amongst the Ramsay drawings in the National Gallery of Scotland.

Kensington Gardens, and bounded up to old King George with the laughing words, "*Comment vous portez-vous, Monsieur le Roi ? Vous avez une grande et belle maison ici, n'est-ce-pas ?*" The children then knew no English. King George was delighted, and used subsequently to send for her to amuse him, up to the time when she was sent off to the Kildares in Ireland after her mother's death. On her return to live with the Foxes at the age of fourteen, the King summoned her to Court, and began to joke with her just as he had been accustomed to do with the child of five. Naturally she grew frightened and remained silent : whereupon the old King, not realizing the shyness begotten by riper years, and disappointed at her changed demeanour, turned roughly from her and growled out, "Pooh ! She's grown quite stupid !"

On this occasion, perhaps, Lady Sarah first met the Prince of Wales. Young Prince George had been brought up in strict seclusion by his mother, Augusta, Princess of Wales. He was allowed no playmates of his own age. His youth was solitary and joyless until his succession to the throne. But as soon as the period of mourning was over for George II, Lady Sarah was often taken to Court. Walpole records a children's play at Holland House in 1761, and spoke of Lady Sarah, then sixteen, as one who could no longer be classed as a schoolroom miss. Her beauty, her charm, her frankness and her intelligence, all made a deep impression on the young Monarch. He fell deeply in love : but on her side, as was only natural at her age, the girl was thinking far more of her dogs, her animals, and the pursuits of childhood, than of anything more exciting than an ordinary friendship, flavoured perhaps with the extra spice of exalted surroundings. Sentimental asides and hints of tender feelings therefore passed unheeded. Perhaps Lady Sarah did not even understand what his advances meant. Nor did messages sent

through her intimate friend and confidante, Lady Susan Fox-Strangways, eldest daughter of Lord and Lady Ilchester, meet with any better fate.

All this time, the King's mother, steeled by her antipathy to Fox and terrified of that connection, was watching her son like a hawk, and lost no opportunity of putting obstacles in the way of any private conversation with the object of his admiration. The latter too, quite oblivious of her chances of a throne, had in due course become involved in an entertaining flirtation with her cousin, Lord Newbattle. Tiring of this she went to the country, and by a most unfortunate chance whilst in Somerset managed to break her leg. Up to the time of this misfortune Fox had been hopeful. He had left nothing to chance, and naturally threw his whole being into a contest which might result in a crown for his sister-in-law. The fates were not on his side. He blamed young Newbattle's sister, who was married to Lord George Lennox—another runaway match—for her senseless interference. "That devil, Lady George," were his words, "whom I hope never to see within my doors whilst I live."

The Birthday ball on June 4, soon after Lady Sarah's return to town, was the scene of renewed tender glances between the pair, and of most marked attentions on the part of the King. Lady Louisa Stuart recounted Lady Macartney's recollections of the scene. How Lady Sarah's place was at the head of the dancers' bench nearest to the young King. How the weight of his chair did not prevent him from edging it more and more to the left in her direction. How their conversation continued till all dancing was over. And how it was nearly one o'clock before he recollected himself and rose to dismiss the assembly.¹ But there it ended. That was their last chance. Princess Augusta took no further risks. Her

¹ *Journal of Lady Mary Coke*, ii, 307.

fiat went forth ; and soon a change in the Monarch's demeanour became apparent, notwithstanding the young lady's daily appearances in the hay-fields of Holland House, close to the "Great Road" along which he was wont to ride.¹ At the Council on July 8, George III's betrothal to Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg was announced.

And so Lady Sarah lost her royal lover for good and all, but was more affected by the lameness of her mare and the illness of her squirrel ! Her heart was not affected, and high station had no attraction for her. Nor had she long to wait for new suitors. She refused Lord Erroll out of hand : but two days before the anniversary of that memorable Birthday ball, she was wedded in the chapel at Holland House to Thomas Charles Bunbury, son of the Rev. Sir William Bunbury, of Barton and Mildenhall in Suffolk. The ceremony was performed by Fox's old friend and domestic chaplain, Dr Philip Francis.

Francis, known only to the world as the father of the more celebrated Sir Philip Francis, was an eccentric, queer, ungrateful character. He acted as tutor to Charles James Fox at Eton : whilst the chaplaincy of Chelsea Hospital was only one of many substantial benefits which he obtained through his patron's influence. Yet he turned upon his best friend, and was not above an attempt to blackmail him, all because Fox would not or could not obtain an Irish Bishopric for him ! Even then Fox's characteristic generosity of mind prevailed. "I am sincerely yours," he wrote, "nor shall one passionate, I had almost said desperate, letter make me cease to love you."

Bunbury was five years older than his bride. His name, and that of his brother, Henry William Bunbury, are well known. The latter's drawings and caricatures

¹ A very rare engraving, entitled *Palemon and Lavinia*, by J. R. Smith, after Lawrenson, which is based on this episode, is reproduced in the writer's *Life of Henry Fox*, ii, 134.

are celebrated all the world over by the engravings made from them by Bartolozzi and other skilled artists. Sir Charles is remembered in a different field. He was the owner of "Diomed," the winner of the first race for the Blue Ribbon of the Turf, instituted at Epsom in 1780. His stable at different times included other good horses, notably Gimcrack, "the sweetest little horse that ever was," after which the big two-year-old event of the York meetings is named. He sat in the House of Commons for many years, and was appointed Secretary to Lord Weymouth in Ireland. But the Lord-Lieutenant was forced to resign by the fall of the Government in 1765, and Bunbury never took up his post. This was his second disappointment; for two years earlier Fox had procured for him the appointment of Secretary of Legation in Paris; but so great was the annoyance of the prospective Ambassador, Lord Hertford, and so cold was his demeanour, that Bunbury thought it the wiser course to stay at home.

For a few years all went well with the Bunbury menage. "You have made a mighty pretty discovery, Miss, truly," wrote Lady Sarah to Lady Susan Fox-Strangways, in October 1762. "*I can think there is happiness in y^e country with a person one loves.*" Pray now, who the d—l would not be happy with a pretty place, a good house, good horses, greyhounds, etc., for hunting, so near Newmarket: what company we please in y^e house, and £2,000 a year to spend (which we then should have clear)? Add to this that I have a settled, comfortable feel that I am doing so right that all my friends love me and are with me as much as possible; in short, that I have not one single thing on earth to be troubled about *on my own account*. Pray now, where is the great oddity of that, or the wretch that would not be happy?"¹

For a time the diversions and excitements of the neigh-

¹ *Lady Sarah Lennox*, i, 134.

bourhood were all-absorbing. Visits to Paris and London gaieties were just pleasant changes of scene ; but the glamour of the country and " this sweet place, Barton," in particular, enthralled its mistress and held her spell-bound. She still retained her early passion for animals. Her husband was at her beck and call, and as yet there was no shadow of future coldness and misunderstanding. " You don't know perhaps that I am reckoned to govern him. I really think it is true ; but I use very little art about it, for the moment I want anything I tell him of it, and he is so very good and spoils me so much that he seldom refuses me." ¹

By the end of 1767, however, the atmosphere had become more loaded. The adulation bestowed on Lady Sarah during her trips to France might have turned the strongest of heads. Walpole spoke of her in Paris that February, "*L'amende la plus honorable* has been made to her beauty ; they opened their eyes and saw nothing like her." The Duc de Lauzun followed her to England, and innuendoes were not the least harmful insinuations which that braggart thought fit to insert in his Journal to puff his own self-importance. Bunbury was openly bored with these weeks of gaiety in the French Capital ; and although Lady Sarah's letters to Lady Susan show that she was most attentive to her husband and his health, the two began to drift apart. She was toying too with young Lord Carlisle's affections, and Holland felt constrained to address her a protest in verse, founded on the Ode of Horace, *Lydia dic per omnes*.

Sally, Sally, don't deny,
But for God's sake tell me why,
You have flirted so to spoil
That once lively youth, Carlisle ?

¹ *Lady Sarah Lennox*, June 7, 1766, i, 197.

A FRIENDLY DIVORCE

He used to mount while it was dark,
Now he lies in bed till noon :
And you not meeting in the park,
Thinks that he got up too soon.¹ . . .

As late as May 1768, Lady Sarah wrote to her confidante, "I assure you my frequent journeys have taught me only to prize my dear old Barton and home the more." Yet less than a year later she left Sir Charles's house, with her infant daughter of two months old, and joined Lord William Gordon. She only remained under his protection, however, for a few short months. Owing to the entreaties of her family she then returned to Goodwood, where she lived in complete retirement. She spent a long period in 1772 with Lady Holland, and later took up her residence at Halnaker, a house which her brother built for her in 1777 and 1778, from her own designs, in Goodwood Park. Her divorce from Sir Charles took place in 1776. Three years later they met by arrangement, had several long conversations, and parted the best of friends. Indeed the question of remarriage appears to have been mooted, but Lady Sarah would have none of it. "It is very true," she wrote, "that every mark of his forgiveness is like a dagger to my heart . . . I was *indifferent*, and that has always been the cause of my ingratitude, which never proceeded from anger or dislike."

"I hope I shall never be idiot enough," wrote Lady Sarah during the year 1780, "to marry *avec toutes mes années et tous mes défauts* ; but if ever I do, you may certainly consider me as *mad* and that I've met a man as mad as myself."² Yet the unexpected happened ; and results showed that there was madness on neither side. In 1781 she gave her hand to the Hon. George Napier, second son of Francis, fifth Lord Napier. By him she had five sons

¹ *George Selwyn and His Contemporaries*, ii, 154.

² *Lady Sarah Lennox*, i, 310.

and three daughters, of whom the three generals, Sir Charles, the conqueror of Scinde : Sir George, Governor of the Cape of Good Hope : and Sir William, the historian of the Peninsular War, will never be forgotten wherever the English language is spoken, and wherever British feats of arms are chronicled.

For many years Lady Sarah and her husband lived at Celbridge, a house in the park at Castletown, the home of the Conollys ; and after her husband's death in 1804—an union blest with unbounded happiness, she returned to London to an abode suitable in size to her slender means. A few years later her sight failed. She became completely blind, and remained so until her death in 1826.

Lady Sarah's arrival at Holland House in 1759, and that of Lady Susan Fox-Strangways, Lord Ilchester's eldest daughter, two years her senior, to live with the Hollands, afforded an opportunity for recommencing the gay and festive scenes of the early years of their occupation of the House. Records remain of the ball given on May 1, 1753, which are printed in the Appendix as an example of how entertainments were conceived and arranged in those days.¹ An earlier one, probably a house-warming, took place in 1747.

Lady Susan wrote in 1760, that balls were few in number, and cards were indispensable at all parties.² In 1818, on the other hand, assemblies and balls were very numerous, but cards were not admitted. Music had taken their place. Hours too had altered, largely owing to the change in Parliamentary procedure ; for in the early years the House was always up before four. Dinner in 1760 was at four o'clock, theatre or card parties followed

¹ See Appendix B.

² *Lady Sarah Lennox*, ii, 291. "Changes between 1760 and 1818."

soon after, and early hours were kept at night. In 1818 Parliament met at four or five, speeches were much longer, and the evening meal took place at seven or eight o'clock. Parties began at ten, and balls at eleven or twelve.

In 1758 Holland House again became the centre of dramatic entertainments, but under very different circumstances from those which had been staged in the seventeenth century. In the years of which we now speak, plays were the excuse for social gatherings, while the characters were represented by amateurs—often by children. Lady Sarah and Lady Susan were wont to take the leading parts, while the three Fox boys, the Kildare sons, and other friends of their own age, completed the casts.

Lady Caroline Fox herself had taken part in many such performances in her youth. One notable instance is represented in a painting in Hogarth's best early style. The technique, the grouping of the figures, and the attitudes of the spectators, especially that of the little girl seated in the front row, leave little to be desired. The picture represents Act IV Scene iv of Dryden's *Indian Emperor, or Conquest of Mexico*, played at the house of Mr Conduitt, the Master of the Mint, in 1731—the year in which it was painted. John Conduitt (1688–1737) married, in 1717, Mrs Katharine Barton, Sir Isaac Newton's niece. The great philosopher had died in 1727, and his bust is introduced into the picture above the mantelpiece.

Three girls and a boy are on the stage :

Lady Caroline Lennox represented	Cydaria,
Lady Sophia Fermor	„ Almeria,
Miss Conduitt (afterwards	
Lady Lymington)	„ Alibeck,
and Lord Lempster ¹	„ Cortez.

Amongst the audience were the Duke of Cumberland with

¹ Eldest son of Thomas, first Earl of Pomfret, whom he survived.

his two sisters Princess Mary and Princess Louisa, the Duke and Duchess of Richmond, the Duke of Montague, Lady Deloraine, Lord Pomfret and Tom Hill. The picture was left to Lord Upper Ossory by Mary, second Lady Holland, and at his death in 1818 it returned to Holland House. It has constantly been exhibited.

Hogarth is also responsible for an unfinished head and shoulders of *Henry Fox*. If this is the picture of which Horace Walpole speaks as in the process of being painted in 1761,¹ it would hardly seem up to the high standard which the painter had set for himself, "If Mr Fox would sit as he liked, he promised to make as good a picture as Vandyke or Rubens could." It formerly belonged to Mr Samuel Ireland, and was given to Elizabeth, Lady Holland, by General Henry Edward Fox.

In January, 1761, Horace Walpole wrote to George Montagu :—

I was excessively amused on Tuesday night : there was a play at Holland-house, acted by children : not all children, for Lady Sarah Lennox and Lady Susan Strangways played the women. It was *Jane Shore* : one Price, Lord Barrington's nephew, was Gloster, and acted better than three parts of the comedians. Charles Fox, Hastings : a little Nichols, who spoke well, Belmour : Lord Ofaly, Lord Ashbroke, and other boys, did the rest—but the two girls were delightful, and acted with so much nature and simplicity, that they appeared the very things they represented. Lady Sarah was more beautiful than you can conceive, and her very awkwardness gave an air of truth to the shame of the part and the antiquity of the time, which was kept up by her dress, taken out of Montfaucon. Lady Susan was dressed from Jane Seymour : and all the parts were clothed in ancient habits, and with the most minute

¹ *Letters*, v, 56.

PLAYS AT HOLLAND HOUSE

propriety. I was infinitely more struck with the last scene between the two women, than ever I was when I have seen it on the stage. When Lady Sarah was in white, with her hair about her ears and on the ground, no Magdalen by Correggio was half so lovely and expressive. You would have been charmed too with seeing Mr Fox's little boy [Henry Edward] of six years old, who is beautiful, and acted the Bishop of Ely, dressed in lawn sleeves and with a square cap : they had inserted two lines for him, which he can hardly speak plainly. Francis had given them a pretty prologue.¹

Again on December 30 in the same year, we find Lady Ilchester writing to her husband, "Fryday I was at the play at Holland House, *The Distressed Mother*.² It was perform'd surprisingly well, and a very pretty sight. Susan was Hermione, L^y Sarah Andromakey ! Lucy, Kitty, Ophaly, Fitzgerald, Charles Fox, etc., etc., acted. It was performed again Saturday." The young people a month later acted *The Revenge*.³

But these were not solitary instances, for every winter some play was arranged. Amongst those who assisted in the productions was a certain good-looking actor, William O'Brien, descended from an old Irish family but quite without fortune, who had made a name for himself in the six years that he had been on the stage. He was first engaged by Garrick for Drury Lane, and appeared there in 1758. From that time onward he took innumerable parts, his last, as a professional, being in *The Provoked Husband* in April 1764.

In the *Dialogue of the Shades*, Mrs Cibber says to Mrs Woffington :—

"The only performers of any eminence that have made their appearance since your departure are O'Brien and Powell.

¹ *Letters*, v, 19.

² Ambrose Philips's translation of Racine's *Andromache*, 1712.

³ By Young, 1721.

THE RICHMOND FAMILY

The first was a very promising comedian in Woodward's walk, and was much caressed by the nobility : but this apparent fortune was his ruin, for having married a young lady of family without her relations' knowledge, he was obliged to transport himself to America, where he is now doing penance for his redemption." ¹

The theatrical profession was not one from which the upper classes sought suitors for their daughters ; and Walpole said that even a footman would be preferable as a husband ! Imagine the shock to her parents, therefore, when Lady Susan was discovered, in 1764, to be desperately in love with this young actor. Their acquaintance was then of about two years' standing. Her father insisted that the friendship must be given up. One last interview was pleaded for, and granted. Shortly afterwards, Lady Susan came of age, and at the termination of a sitting for her portrait to Catherine Read, the pastellist,² she met O'Brien by appointment, and was married to him there and then at St Paul's Church, Covent Garden.

The Ilchesters were in despair ; and had it not been for Lord Holland, who would not desert his favourite niece, Lady Susan might have been left to her fate. But her uncle did everything that was possible for the young couple, mindful probably of his own experiences in the past, and even made them an allowance for the first few years. Then came the question of some definite employment for O'Brien. Various posts abroad were considered ; and finally a tract of land was bought for them in North America, whither they migrated in the autumn. There they remained for some years.

We cannot here omit a short reference to the well-

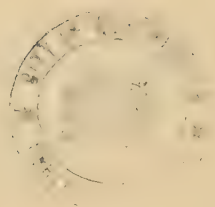
¹ Genest's *History of the English Stage*, v, 64.

² The picture is at Melbury.



DY SARAH LENNOX, LADY SUSAN FOX-STRANGWAYS AND CHARLES
AMES FOX, 1761-4

Original sketch for the group by Sir Joshua Reynolds



known picture by Reynolds, representing Lady Sarah leaning out of a window (one, be it said, with which some licence has been taken, for the actual size is very small) on the north side of the House. Lady Susan and Charles James Fox are walking in the garden below her. It was commenced in 1761, but does not appear to have been finished until three years later, when the painter was paid £120. The precocity of young Fox strikes us at once. He professed to be deeply in love with his cousin at this time; and the paper which he held in his hand was probably his part in one of the above-mentioned plays.

The picture now hangs on the walls of the *Sir Joshua Room*; and near-by on an easel, stands the small original sketch which was the foundation for the larger picture.¹ It is interesting to note how skilfully the painter has realised the defects of the original composition, and improved upon his first ideas. The two full-length figures in the sketch, become three-quarter length in the final picture; while the open landscape on the right, which upsets the balance and occupies half the canvas, is in the end compressed into a fifth of the whole breadth. More than one of the beech trees are still in existence. The sketch was presented to Charles James Fox by Reynolds himself. It was given by Mrs Fox at her death in 1842 to General Charles Richard Fox, previous to which it had hung in Mr Fox's bedroom at St Anne's Hill for forty years. General Fox in turn arranged to leave it to his sister-in-law, Lady Holland, in 1864, when starting on a trip to Asia Minor, and at his death in 1873 it joined the finished version.

¹ This faces p. 82.

CHAPTER V

1744-1774

HENRY FOX AND HIS SONS

WE have seen that the Foxes were married early in May 1744. Their eldest child, Stephen, was born on February 20, 1744/5. The second son, born in September 1746, only lived two months. Charles James first saw the light of day in January 1748/9; and the youngest, Henry Edward, in 1755. It is no exaggeration to write that a fonder or more indulgent parent could not be found than Henry Fox. But his kindness to his boys was unfortunately framed on foolish and extravagant lines; and in the case of his two elder sons his policy bore fruit from which no one suffered more bitterly than he did in after years. Possibly the realisation of this unpleasant fact was the salvation of the baby of the family—"his only good son" as Horace Walpole termed him. Henry Edward Fox was destined to take up the army as a profession; and as foreign service took him early abroad, he is far less closely connected with Holland House than his brothers. We have several glimpses of his early childhood. At the age of three, Henry Fox wrote of him:—

I find Harry lame, only since noon to-day. Nurse says it is a growing pain, and seems in none herself about him. He is certainly the best-humour'd boy that ever was, for he can't walk nor set his right foot to the ground without making wry faces, and then says, "Me can't stand, but me can kneel upon cushion and peep at the pictures, you know." And so he do's, and you wrong his understanding much in that point, for he explain'd them all to Agathe, and jok'd about them all with Fannen. They were Hogarth's.

In April 1761, his father wrote to Lady Caroline :—

We find a great difference in him, which we impute to Agathe. He us'd to be unwilling, and is now always desirous of coming to town. He certainly is the best humour'd boy in the world. Will you have his picture drawn by Mr Hoar, and I'll give it to Mrs Digby ?

And four years later, when the boy was ten years old :—

Harry has just found out that I am turn'd out, and you may be sure don't care a farthing. But he has been so intent upon his horses, that, tho' he must have heard it mention'd a hundred times since Saturday, it was not to his purpose and he never heeded it. After the stable was shut up last night, he came of his own accord, and read to me very prettily some *Worlds*. We shall be at a loss to know what to read, I find. I wish you could advise.

The boy's school education appears to have been sadly neglected. Henry Fox was elevated to the peerage in 1763. Thenceforward, even before his removal from the Pay Office two years later, he and Lady Holland spent long periods on the Continent, being often away for nearly a year at a time. Their youngest son, whose picture, apparently by Drouais, is mentioned in the *Correspondance* of Grimm and Diderot¹ as having been shown in Paris in 1763, seems almost always to have accompanied them. We hear of him ill at Eton in September 1767. That seems to have been made a further excuse to take him abroad. and to keep him with them until the following May. Even his autumn school time in 1768 was broken by a few days at Holland House in November, on account of an "Eton Rebellion." Another three months in foreign climes followed at the end of 1769 ; but we read in a rough diary kept by his mother, in the subsequent October, that a cornetcy had been bought for him in General

¹ Vol iv, 176.

Mostyn's Dragoon Guards.¹ He joined his regiment at Northampton.

Harry Fox was promoted lieutenant during 1773 into the 38th Regiment, then quartered at Boston. He was still in England in October, but a captaincy followed in February. He must have sailed for America about that time, and read of his father's death in the papers the following year, when in camp at Boston. A letter from him of September 9, 1774, spoke of the unsatisfactory state of affairs there, and made mention of the fact that General Gage was fortifying every post he could think of round the town. He served in America until peace was declared, and returned home in 1783 with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

The young man was left better off than had been expected. According to Horace Walpole he received £20,000, and £900 a year.² The outbreak of war had naturally put an end to any idea of a seat in Parliament, which was apparently in contemplation for him.

Harry had come through the test of his father's ill-timed adulation to all intents and purposes unscathed. But what of his elder brothers? They were in far worse plight. Both were delicate: but Stephen was far more so than Charles. He was afflicted in early childhood with a form of St Vitus's dance, which time and sea-bathing alleviated; although the cure was never complete. "Ste," as he was always known in the family, first went to Eton in 1756, at the age of eleven. He left three years later, after a serious illness, and was sent abroad with a tutor to travel on the Continent, where in 1760 and 1761 he was under the care of the celebrated Dr Tronchin at Geneva. It was

¹ 1st or King's Dragoon Guards.

² *Letters*, viii, 456.

during his stay there that Voltaire wrote the following letter to his father, Henry Fox :—

AUX DÉLICES.

28 avril n.s.

S^r

Y^r son is an english lad, and j an old frenchman he is healthy, and j sick, yet j love him with all my heart, not only for his father, but for him self. We are very free together, he does me the honour to come to my little caban when he pleases ; We are to dine just now, and to drink y^r health. t'is for me a good fortune to receive the son of the amiable and honour'd m^r fox who was formerly so kind to me. if j were but sixty years old, I would come again to england but j will live here and dye with the utmost respect Monsieur

votre tres humble et tres obeissant
serviteur VOLTAIRE.

It has been stated by Sir George Trevelyan in his delightful *Early Life of Charles James Fox* that the letter refers to Holland's second son ; but the docket in Henry Fox's handwriting on the back " Mons^r de Voltaire, Apr^l 28, 1761." disproves that theory by the date. Charles Fox, it is true, did call on Voltaire at Ferney with Uvedale Price, an Eton friend, but that was six years later. As to that visit, Princess Liechtenstein quotes a letter from Price to E. H. Barker ¹ :—

From Geneva Fox and I went to Voltaire at Ferney, having obtained a permission then seldom granted. It is an event in one's life to have seen and heard that extraordinary man. He was old and infirm, and in answer to Fox's note and request said that the name of Fox was sufficient, and that he could not refuse seeing us, " mais que nous venions pour l'exterrer." He conversed in a lively manner, walking with us to and fro in a sort of alley : and at parting gave us a list of some of his works, adding, " Ce sont des livres de quoi il faut se munir "

¹ *Holland House* i, 53.

—they were such as would fortify our young minds against religious prejudices. Fox quitted us at Geneva, went to England, and commenced his political career. . . .

The date of Henry Fox's own meeting with Voltaire is not clear, nor the occasion of it. Probably it took place in 1733 ; for Lord Hervey, writing to Fox on September 13 of that year, said :—

I received a letter yesterday from Voltaire. He is charmed with you ; and by the sort of commendations he gives you, he must be sincere, for had he only had a mind to flatter you, it would have been impossible he should just have pitch'd on those good qualities which you really possess. Pray bid him send me a direction for my letters to him, written in a hand I can read, for the date of his (which I suppose was to serve me for a direction) I can not decypher.

Of Voltaire, Henry Richard, Lord Holland many years later related a good story. Voltaire so admired the maxim,

“ Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci,”

that when there was not room for the whole, he placed the initial letters over the theatre, thus O T P Q M V D. On one occasion he had published a play, which was very badly received by the audience and was thought with reason to be very poor. A gentleman was asked what was the meaning of those letters, and after looking at them for a moment, he said, “ Cela veut dire, ‘ O Tragedie pitoyable que Mr Voltaire donnoit.’ ”

Lady Caroline's first-born was “ ever nearest her heart ” ; but for all that she seems to have realised and foreseen her darling's shortcomings and weaknesses far more readily than did her husband. Fox's method with his sons was to flatter, and to attempt persuasion rather than to make his authority felt. A characteristic instance occurred while

Ste was still at Eton. "One thing," Fox wrote to the boy, "you know I much wanted to see—your hair cut to a reasonable and gentlemanlike shortness. You and some Eton boys wear it as no other people in the world do. It is effeminate, it is ugly, and it must be inconvenient. You gave me hopes that, if I desir'd it, you would cut it ; I will, dear Ste, be much obliged if you will."

It is a sad confession to make, but it is a fact that Horace Walpole's remarks to Mann in 1774, on hearing of Lord Holland's death, have a ring of truth. "His sons," he wrote, "would still be in good circumstances, if they were not *his* sons ; but he had so totally spoiled the two eldest, that they would think themselves bigots if they were to have common sense."¹ Indeed what can we expect, when the following was the sort of thing which used to occur ? We find Fox writing to Lady Caroline in 1761, during a family crisis in which Ste as usual expressed penitence for past follies, and gave specious promises of improvement. "By the sums he has now drawn for, his expenses and losses must have greatly exceeded his computations, or perhaps what he cared to own. But this is not worth a thought while he is well, and so very well disposed, and coming here so soon."

Unfortunately Ste's assurances on such points were worthless, as his father found to his cost as time went on. For even if on occasion he was persuaded to avoid the card-table, his powers of wasting money in other ways never failed him. "Though he has abandoned play," wrote George Macartney from Geneva at the end of 1762, "his passion for clothes and horses is pretty nearly equivalent. He can't deny himself anything of that kind, and has not even the economy of extravagance." For the preceding eighteen months his bankers' drafts had totalled nearly £7,000 !

¹ *Letters*, ix, 15.

Two years later Ste was again playing as high as ever ; for Holland wrote to his wife after his dismissal from the Paymaster's office, " We shall have enough for ev'ry thing but Ste's gaming, and nothing were sufficient for that." His portrait, a three-quarter length, by Reynolds, was painted at that period.¹ But the year 1766 produced hopes of a change for the better. At the end of March came news of the young man's engagement to Lady Mary Fitzpatrick, daughter of John, first Earl of Upper Ossory. Ste's union with so charming a girl gave promise of some chance of reformation ; for there was nothing really vicious about him. He was merely weak and unable to resist temptation. He was well thought of by his own generation and was popular, although his early tendency to stoutness and a certain degree of deafness made him appear to the least advantage in society.

For Holland the new connection was by no means free from complications : for the young lady's mother was the Duchess of Bedford's sister, both daughters of John, Earl Gower. Holland a year or two before, as we have seen, had broken with the Duke and Duchess. Holland was not easily reconciled, and the breach was never made up. " It is nuts to me," he wrote in 1767, " to see the Bedfords begging at every door." A joke too about the Duke, related that same year to his son Charles James, may not be out of place here. " It is generally thought that the Duke of Bedford will grow stone blind. R—y² was expressing his great concern, when a friend of yours said it wou'd give him more if his Grace open'd his eyes."

The position, however, did not affect the liberal settlement which Holland made for his son : but we have no

¹ Hoare also drew him in pastel, as a boy, at ut 1751, a replica of which is at Sherborne Castle.

² Rigby.

record that he was present at the wedding, which was celebrated in the private chapel at Bedford House at the end of April.

Delighted at the alliance from every other point of view, Holland at once set about to renovate and enlarge Winterslow, a hunting and shooting box which he had purchased two years earlier. The property adjoined the old Fox estate at Farley, where Sir Stephen Fox and his family lay at rest. Before long the young couple took up their abode there, in the intervals of travel on the Continent with the Hollands. In 1768 Ste was returned to Parliament for Salisbury after a strenuous six months' contest, having been previously disappointed of two safe seats, seemingly through his own fault. He was never conspicuous at Westminster, and though he spoke well enough to flatter his fond parent that he would one day make a name for himself as a politician, he never showed to any real advantage, and was completely overshadowed by his younger brother. A daughter, Caroline, had been born in November 1767, of whom we shall often hear in the later annals of Holland House.

Debts, however, still accumulated and increased. There was a talk after Caroline's birth of some proposition to clear off the £50,000 which her father was owing. In fact Holland began to feel morally bound to make an arrangement in favour of those of his own personal friends, who were amongst the most interested creditors.

But besides these gambling debts, Ste's extravagance at Winterslow surpassed all previous records, and knew no bounds. The house was always full of people. He kept a pack of hounds. Hunting, shooting, and private theatricals, all helped to make the time pass pleasantly enough for his guests; but the bills increased. The plays of former days at Holland House were revived in a little theatre which Ste had added to the building; and all went on happily there

until one fatal day early in January 1774, when the house was burnt to the ground.

Walpole wrote that the party next day drank to Ste's *freside*. As the fire started in the middle of the night, it was more than fortunate that the whole of the inmates escaped without injury. Lady Mary herself had the luckiest of escapes. Had she remained in her room a quarter of an hour longer her fate must have been sealed: and even as it was, if she had not rushed at once to her children, instead of descending a short staircase which led to the ground-floor from her room, she would certainly have perished in the flames.

After this catastrophe, which Lord Carlisle described as the first misfortune that ever happened to Ste which he did not bring upon himself, the Foxes moved to Red Rice, a house in the immediate neighbourhood, and set about preparations to rebuild their own. But the Fates willed it otherwise. Before the end of the year Ste had followed both his father and his mother to the grave.

Stephen had spent but few of the last years of his life at Holland House: but one important addition to the property was made during his short reign there. He bought the freehold of the farm premises known as Little Holland House, from a certain Mr Bowles. These were not included in Lord Holland's original purchase; and any land purchased with them was then incorporated in the demesne to the immense improvement of the property. The first reference which we have been able to discover to the house under this name, appears on John Rocque's *Survey* of 1741-5. George Selwyn mentioned it as in the occupation of George Monson in 1764; and Leigh Hunt¹ alludes to the fact that Mr Bubb entertained Mrs Inchbold, the authoress, there for a fortnight. It stood on the ground now occupied by Nos 9 and 12 Melbury Road and the

¹ *The Old Court Suburb*, ii, 33.

roadway between them. The farm buildings, however, are clearly shown in Fuller's Survey of 1694/5.

So much has already been written of the most celebrated of the Fox family, Charles James, Ste's next brother, that we do not propose, in the short space at our disposal, to deal more than cursorily with his life's history. We shall confine ourselves to a few unpublished or little known anecdotes of those early days when his father was still alive, and when he was still closely connected with and often living at Holland House. Later we shall return to him, when his nephew, Henry Richard, Lord Holland was growing up under his eye. And finally, certain reminiscences, written for and supplied to that nephew after his death, may not come amiss. But during the period of Fox's prominence in politics he never resided in Kensington ; and indeed, as we shall see, the House was let. Even his correspondence has passed from the Archives, with the exception of a few miscellaneous letters.

Charles James Fox was not born in Kensington. He first saw the light of day on January 24 (N.S.), 1749, in Conduit Street, where his father was then living when busied with the affairs of State. He was weakly at birth, but soon throve ; and his parents' letters for the next few years are full of praise of his amusing traits and good looks. As a sample of many such references, Lady Caroline wrote in July 1751, on returning to Holland House from a visit to the Ilchesters, "Charles looks vastly well and infinitely beautiful. You can imagine what a fine, noble looking child he seems, just after seeing the pretty, little, white, fairy children of Redlynch ; for though they are prettyish they seem quite insignificant."

The voluminous correspondence between Fox and his wife (they wrote constantly when absent from one another)

are full of allusions during the next few years to the two boys. From these letters it is clear that "Mr Thumb," as Fox called Charles, was as dear to his heart, as was Ste to Lady Caroline's. "I do believe," wrote the former at the end of 1754, "that Ste has, he must have, his share of favour in a proper way for his age. But I suppose Charles is continually at home and Ste continually abroad, which must give Charles an advantage with those who stay at home. Don't be peevish, pray, with the dear child for that, nor for anything else : neither will you seriously, I know, for he has made you love him as well as any of us."

At the age of seven, Charles went to school at Wandsworth (where his cousin, Stavordale, was already on the books), largely, it appears, at his own wish ; for there had been no intention of sending him away from home until the time came for Eton. Ambition, even in those early days, was already his guiding star, as his father wrote to Ilchester in August 1757. "It seems Charles has more emulation than any boy almost ever had, and the pains he now takes that he may get into the 4th form next year as young as Faukner now is, who is just got there, is surprising."

The end of 1758 found Charles an Etonian, and both his parents constantly at the school, especially if perchance either of the boys was unwell. "There is no comparison to be made between health and learning," wrote Fox about this time : "besides that I am sure enough of Charles of the latter. I wish to God I were so of the former." But whatever were the causes of Charles's infantile ailments, which he grew out of in due course, Ste's appear to have been aggravated, even in those youthful days, by some lack of moderation. Fox dined with the two boys and their two cousins, sons of Lord Kildare, on one occasion, "on the dinner Ste had bespoke and we sent for from the Xtopher. He had a flannel round his neck, a little breaking out under

THE BROTHERS AT ETON

his eye, and spoke a little hoarse. . . . Certainly he had no fever that made him nauseate meat, for he bespoke boil'd mutton and broth, 3 large fowles and a leg of mutton roasted, and eat heartily of all. Mr Kimber says he should moderate his eating. I leave it to you¹ to bring that about."

One letter from Charles to Ste may be quoted, written on February 1, 1760, when eleven years of age :—

DEAR BROTHER

I should be obliged to you if you would prevail upon papa to make me a present of the Arabian History and the worst edition of the noble authors, as he has two different ones. Desire him to remember his promise of sending home for me when the Orphan of China is acted, and tomorrow sennight, because I have a very bad cough, for which reason I cannot go tomorrow. I have been very much indisposed these two days, and yesterday I was really ill with heavy headache, but am very well today excepting a coaf. pray send me *the way to keep him* as soon as you can.

Adieu

CHARLES FOX.

Eton Bucks near Windsor Berks

Ha Ha Ha Ha.

Charles's career at Eton, as time went on, fashioned itself on lines materially different from those of the ordinary scholar at that historic school. As his father would leave no ground unturned to carry Charles's studies to that acme of perfection which he believed that the boy could attain, a private tutor was sent with him, Dr Francis, the needy divine of whom we have already spoken. Under Francis's care, and that of the headmaster, Dr Barnard, who was greatly attracted by Charles's early promise, the boy made unbroken progress. He excelled in Greek and Latin verse,

¹ Lady Caroline.

and retained his fondness for them throughout his life. "If I had a boy," he once said to Samuel Rogers, "I would make him write verse. It is the only way to know the meaning of words." Dr Barnard's strong point in the educational curriculum was elocution, and he was always ready to pass on his methods to any pupil who seemed likely to do him justice. From this predilection Charles benefited greatly, and obtained privileges which were denied to the ordinary schoolboy. He had only to ask for leave to go to town when some interesting debate at Westminster was pending, for permission to be immediately granted.

But with all his attachment to his books, which is often no passport to the friendship and affection of boys of his own age, Charles was universally popular. He had a way of influencing his associates, even in those early days, which stood him in good stead throughout his career, but which became at times a positive danger to all around him, when this domination was exercised in the wrong direction.

We shall not repeat the numerous stories of how Fox spoilt the child, and gave way to every desire which he expressed. Most of them are well known. But the mistake which had the worst consequences of all was his decision to take the boy from his books in the spring of 1763, chiefly to pander to his own enjoyment of his society. Three months and more on the Continent, and half of that time spent in the evil atmosphere of Spa—the chief haunt at that period of roués and gamblers, cannot have been a desirable holiday for a precocious young gentleman of fourteen. That experience undoubtedly brought forth a harvest of tares in after years. Charles had sense enough to ask to be sent back to Eton, to spend another year there ; and we can scarcely believe that the morals and habits of the school suffered by his return.¹ The suggestion seems to be largely founded upon a fragmentary autobiography of

¹ Sir G. Trevelyan's *Early Life of Charles James Fox*, p. 49.

Lord Shelburne,¹ whose pen at the time he wrote—many years later, was deeply dipped in gall when any mention of Lord Holland or his offspring was in question. More unlikely still does the suggestion appear, when we find Lord Russell speaking of Charles's reception at the school as far from flattering, alike from masters and boys²; and it is noticeable that in a letter, written to his father in October, he spoke of Eton as more disagreeable than he imagined it could be. He seemed determined, however, to make the most of his remaining opportunities at school, and to map out his future educational career to a nicety, by expressing a wish not to be taken abroad again at Christmas, and by insisting upon remaining for another year.

We have noticed, during the years which coincided with Charles's Eton career, that private theatricals were one of his holiday diversions. Possibly his youthful affection for his cousin, Susan Fox-Strangways, may be held largely responsible for this, for field sports were quite in his line. He played cricket; and on several occasions we read of him shooting partridges on his father's farms, although usually with indifferent success. He had made "Susanna" the goddess of his early dreams, and addressed a copy of Latin verses at Eton to her under that name, which were of sufficient merit to obtain him the distinction of being "sent up for good", a fact which he did not fail to impart to her. Lady Susan's elopement with O'Brien two years later came as a sad blow to him, and one which he never quite forgave in after life, when they were in poverty and he might have been in a position to assist them. "She liked him better than me! Why did she like him better than me?" he asked Lady Sarah Bunbury, and repeated it time and time again. For their disparity of years—she was six years his senior, had apparently no significance to him.

¹ *Life of Lord Shelburne*, i, 130.

² *Memorials and Correspondence of C. J. Fox*, i, 12.

HENRY FOX AND HIS SONS

In 1762 the Duke of Devonshire had ended a business letter to Fox with the words, "Commend me to your son Charles for his sagacity." Similarly in the spring of 1764, Fox, by then Lord Holland, wrote to his friend, John Campbell, of Cawdor, "My son Charles really deserves all that can be said of his parts, as I will convince you when I see you at Holland House. But he has what I value much more—good sense, good-nature, and as many good and amiable qualities as ever met in anyone's composition."

During that year, most probably during his last months at Eton, Charles wrote a comparison in French verse between Bute and Pitt, naturally much to the disparagement of the latter. The metre was faulty, as he allowed to his nephew Lord Holland, who unearthed them many years later. "Oh ! I remember them well," said he ; "it was very foolish of my father to keep them, for they were all wrong. I did not at that time know the rules of French versification." Yet no one can scoff at them, for they are the production of a boy of fifteen in a foreign language.¹ He expressed to Macartney in 1767 his resolve to learn French thoroughly, and a year later carried out his intention. So much so that his nephew wrote many years later, "Few Englishmen have ever spoken or written that language with more ease and correctness."

In October of 1764, Charles matriculated at Oxford, and was entered at Hertford College, a foundation which reached its zenith about that time under the care of Dr Newcombe. The commencement of his career at the University was hardly auspicious. He broke his promise not to gamble within the first fortnight, and lost eighty guineas, which was more money than he had.

But Charles had gone to the University in the same spirit as he had faced Eton—with the full intention of improving his mind and amassing knowledge. His powers of con-

¹ The verses are printed in *Memorials and Correspondence*, i, 13.

centration on the task in hand were immense. Once interested in a subject he would lay himself out to master it ; and those eighteen months which he spent at Oxford were certainly given over to close study. " Application like yours requires some intermission, and you are the only person with whom I have ever had connections, to whom I could say this," was a paragraph in a letter written to him by Dr Newcombe, in answer to his application for leave to go abroad with his mother in the early summer of 1765. It is said that in after life he was wont to carry this in his pocket book (a suggestion corroborated by its torn and faded condition), to prove that he could be industrious if he liked.¹ Mathematics were one of his pet hobbies, the classics another source of even deeper interest. He spent the long vacation of 1765 hard at work : and during those months he and his friend William Dickson, afterwards Bishop of Down, read the whole of the works of the early English Dramatists.

During Charles's stay in Paris he was introduced to David Hume. The historian expressed his extreme surprise at the young man's "knowledge, force of mind and manly way of thinking at his age," but dwelt on his fears that the dissipations of Paris would do him no good.

Notwithstanding this sound advice, Holland raised no objection to his son's desire to start abroad again with his parents, within a few months of leaving Oxford for good in the spring of 1766, this time to the South of France and

¹ The letter is still at Holland House. It is printed in *Memorials and Correspondence*, i, 22 ; but a sentence at the end is omitted, which almost seems to show that Dr Newcombe was not above accepting presents from his pupils, nor indeed above asking for them ! " I have been long wanting to procure an Aldus's Sophocles, which is a small edition in twelves, and has a variety of readings different from the common ones. If you could meet with one, it would be highly acceptable to me." But perhaps we are maligning the worthy Principal. He may have been intending to pay for it.

Italy. It was in fact arranged that he should remain on the Continent until he came of age ; but things do not always turn out as they are intended. A general election was pending in 1768, so Holland and his brother Ilchester put their heads together and bethought themselves of a plan to hire a borough which would accommodate both their sons. Ste Fox, as we have seen, was successful at Salisbury ; while Charles and Stavordale, who was two years his senior, were duly returned for Midhurst in Sussex. Charles took his seat late in the year, and spoke on many occasions in the House before attaining his majority, although consequently ineligible to vote. Indeed the young man seems thus early to have put into practice a maxim with which his father had primed him. His nephew wrote many years later :—

I feel the justice of my grandfather's remark to his son, as he brought him, then a boy, from the Commons one night, "Charles, I have not spoken tonight and I am sorry. Indeed, mark me in this, I have often regretted not speaking when I intended to do so. I have never regretted speaking when I had not intended to speak. Do you mind that when you are a Member, and always speak when you have had or have an inclination to do so."

During 1769 Charles James was back in Paris for a short time, "*très à la mode*." He sat up till all hours in the houses of great ladies, and by no means belied the name which he was already making for himself on the other side of the channel—that of a high gambler. But in political circles his reputation was also growing apace. He was making his mark at lightning speed in the House of Commons. He and his brother took an active part in support of Colonel Luttrell against Wilkes during the Brentford elections ; and on one occasion a breakfast was arranged for the Colonel and his supporters at Holland House. This line of conduct, and a smashing rejoinder to Wedderburn in

defence of the Court in the course of the Wilkes debates in January 1770, brought him into favour with the Government, and within a month of his coming-of-age he found himself a Junior Lord of the Admiralty.

We may imagine Holland's delight at the instantaneous success of his favourite son. The knowledge of Charles's gifts in debate and the power of his oratory, which had never been vouchsafed to him himself, proved a mighty solace to a desponding old age. He was becoming more and more infirm; yet, even so, his ideal was to feel that he and the young man of twenty-one could exchange ideas as if they were brothers. And so it happened; and more even, for the *Parliamentary History* comments in 1771 on both the resemblance in manners and appearance of father and son. But whilst on the subject of their facial resemblance, reference might be made to the impression which seems general amongst present-day historians that Fox's swarthy complexion and heavy eyebrows descended to him from his Richmond ancestor, Charles II. One glance, however, at Nollekens's bust of Henry Fox in old age shows clearly enough, in respect to the eyebrows at least, that he took after his father every bit as much as after his mother's family.

Yet Charles, with all his talents, can hardly have been a pleasant colleague, as his leader, Lord North, discovered to his cost. He was impulsive, he was wayward, he was at times astonishingly indiscreet; and no one could foresee, valuable as his services often were to the Court, what his next vagary might be. At one moment he would oppose the Government of which he was a member; at the next he would resign: at a third he would accept office again. But his arrogance and independence became insufferable, and early in 1774 his services, much to his dying father's dismay, were dispensed with for good and all by order of the King. And from this timely rebuff, the

commencement of the young man's political career may be said to date.

But with all Charles's parliamentary activities, he found time for the club life of the Metropolis, and took to it like a duck to water. In London he gambled till daylight ; at Newmarket he owned horses and betted to excess. His losses equalled, and indeed surpassed those of his elder brother. In three consecutive nights in 1772, the two brothers lost £32,000 ; and, when a crisis arose late in the year 1773, about the time of the birth of an heir to the peerage—a second Messiah, Horace Walpole termed him, come to foretell the ruin and dispersion of the Jews ¹—his debts were assessed at over £100,000. These were finally settled from his father's estate ; and the story that the members of Brook's Club have been mulcted of an annual guinea to pay for his extravagance cannot be substantiated.

¹ *Letters*, viii, 367.

CHAPTER VI

1774-1793

NEW GENERATIONS

THE year 1774 proved a disastrous one to the Fox family. Stephen, Lord Holland died at the end of November of dropsy, only six months after his father, leaving his widow with two young children, Caroline, born in 1767, and a son, Henry Richard, born in 1773, who thus succeeded to the title when a year old. By the provisions of Caroline, Lady Holland's will, Ste's debt to his father's estate of nearly £50,000 had been cleared off, as had Charles's, which was much more substantial. This had put Ste on his feet again, and the office of the Clerkship of the Pells in Ireland, computed to bring in about £2,500 a year, had been also left to him.

Horace Walpole, writing to Lady Upper Ossory, the new Lord Holland's sister-in-law, placed his income at £10,000 a year.¹ But how far this estimate was correct seems doubtful ; for the money due for refund from Henry, Lord Holland's estate to Government in respect to the Paymaster's accounts was very large ; and in 1783 a sum of £116,000 was still owing. Henry Fox, in the kindness of his heart, appears to have been wont to lend money to his needy friends on a four per cent basis ; but quite a large proportion of these advances had finally to be written off as bad debts. The difficulties of his executor, Mr Powell, who was chief accountant at the Pay Office in 1774 at the time of his death, were thereby largely accentuated.

¹ *Letters*, ix, 20.

But everything was satisfactorily arranged in due course ; and by 1805 the whole debt to Government had been paid.

The fact that ready money was required at this time is made clear by a sale of furniture and books, which took place at Holland House on November 20, 1775.¹ About £4500 was realised by this means—no small sum for household effects in those days. The House had been let to Lord Rosebery, as from the following Christmas. He had stipulated that the best apartments should not be stripped of their furniture, so we may conclude that some pieces were allowed to remain.² Walpole wrote to Lady Ossory on December 4. “The sale at Holland House will produce treasures. I did not go : it would have been a horrid sight to me who lived there so much, but I hear the most common furniture sold as dear as relics.”³

The same letter spoke of Lady Holland as “out of order” ; and one from her to her soldier brother-in-law, Henry Edward Fox, in America mentioned that she had been really very ill of influenza, which was prevalent in England that winter. She added that this was the first time that she had ever been unwell in her life, from which we may presume that the seeds were then sown of the illness which brought about her untimely death three years later.

Lady Holland’s life during those years was passed chiefly in the country, revelling in the companionship of her two children and in that of her own family. Her two brothers were her slaves. The eldest, John, second Earl of Upper Ossory, had some years before married Anne Liddell,

¹ Elizabeth, Lady Holland wrote, in November 1836, that her son Charles Richard Fox had just bought his father a birthday present consisting of two volumes of entertaining tracts. “These had formerly belonged to the original library at H^d House, which was sold and disposed of at the death of the late L^d H^d.”

² Mr Christie conducted the sale ; but the catalogue relating to it has not survived.

³ *Letters*, ix, 289.



LADY CAROLINE FOX

Wife of Henry Fox, first Lord Holland



LADY MARY FITZPATRICK, 1764

Subsequently wife of Stephen Fox, second Lord Holland



daughter of Henry, Lord Ravensworth, the divorced wife of the Prime Minister, Augustus Henry, Duke of Grafton. They were married in March 1769, three days after the Act, which was the result of a friendly arrangement, had been passed.

Her younger brother, Richard Fitzpatrick, was a soldier ; and his departure in 1777 for the war in America threw a gloom over the last two years of Lady Holland's life. He rose high in his profession, and subsequently attained ministerial rank in the House of Commons : but is best remembered for his hand in the *Rolliad*, for his prominence in society, and, last but not least, as Charles James Fox's dearest friend. Their sister, Louisa, a year or two later, married Lord Shelburne.

Chief among Lady Holland's intimate friends was George Selwyn, whose confidante she was (one of many, it is true) in his troubles about his adopted daughter, "Mie Mie," and her marriage with Lord Hertford. Her brother-in-law, she seems to have seen but seldom. "I see Charles sometimes, but not so often as I wish, but I know it is his way to see less of people he loves than of those he is indifferent to. 'On a cette dose de sentimens que la Nature nous donne, et nos amis doivent en être contents, car le mal est sans remède'." Lady Sarah Bunbury held the same view of Charles's lapses from the paths of true friendship, which she also put down to thoughtlessness. "It's the nature of the beast," she said, quoting what his own mother had said of him. He was fated, however, to feel severely the result of his negligence and neglect when his sister-in-law died.

In July 1777 Lady Holland took a house at Old Windsor, and lived peacefully there until her death in October 1778. Symptoms of consumption had begun to show themselves in March of the first-named year ; and she could not disguise from herself the fact that she was doomed. The

fell disease ran a rapid course : and within eighteen months of its first appearance she had passed away—a perfect specimen of a wife, a mother and a friend, as her relatives and associates testified without one single dissentient voice. She left the reversion of her possessions, in the event of the deaths of both her children, to be divided between her two brothers, apologising in her will to Charles and Harry Fox for giving her own family the preference. The whole of the pictures which were included in her personal estate she left to Lord Ossory. She had at least the solace of seeing Richard Fitzpatrick before her death, for he had returned from America early in 1778. “I hear nothing ever equalled Mr Fitzpatrick’s attention,” wrote Lady Sarah in July, “indeed the poor soul is never easy without him. I thank God he is in England, and at liberty to attend to her.”¹

Portraits of Mary, Lady Holland in the House are numerous. The most important are a half-length by Gainsborough, painted in 1764 before her marriage, and a portrait of similar proportions by Reynolds. There is also a three-quarter length, in an attractive grey dress, the sleeves of which are tied with pink and white bows, with a spaniel in her arms, painted by Pompeo Battoni in Rome in 1767; while a picture by Devis—small figures of Lady Mary and her sister Lady Louisa in the gardens of Ampthill, their father’s house, shows them as children.

Notwithstanding her devotion to her children, Lady Holland left no specific directions whatever as to their immediate future : but Lord Upper Ossory, as her executor, at once took charge of the situation. He decided to take Henry under his own wing—a healthy boy, we are told, with a strong resemblance to his father in looks. Caroline was handed over to her step-aunt, Henrietta Vernon, who two years before had married George, second Earl of

¹ *Lady Sarah Lennox*, i, 282.

THE VERNON SISTERS

Warwick, as his second wife. Henrietta was the eldest of three Vernon sisters. They were daughters of Evelyn, first Countess of Upper Ossory, daughter of John, Earl Gower, by her second marriage with Richard Vernon, of Hilton, co. Stafford, a young man well known in Parliament and on the Turf. She had married him in 1759, six months after Lord Upper Ossory's death, but died herself four years later. Mr Vernon died in 1800. The girls are repeatedly spoken of in Horace Walpole's letters as "the three Graces," or "the nymphs of Amphyll." A round pencil and water-colour sketch, dated 1772, by Elias Martin, a painter born in Sweden, depicts them as children in their schoolroom, one at the piano, the others reading and writing at a table.

The Lennox family had hoped to have been given charge of Caroline, and were much disappointed at the arrangement. But no one could raise any serious objection. Lady Warwick was said to be gentleness itself, and the most like Lady Holland of any "of that set."¹ Indeed, it appears to have come as a relief to everyone concerned that so promising a girl was not to be placed with Lady Upper Ossory, who, though she had many good points, had the reputation of being ill-tempered. Lady Holland had never got on well with her sister-in-law, and, notwithstanding her affection for her brother, never sought her company nor saw her during her illness. Lady Sarah wrote, "I have no right to judge of one I don't know, but from everything I've heard of Lady Ossory at different times of her life, her love for Lord Ossory is the least of her faults; and she is an uncomfortable, tiresome woman to live with besides."

Caroline Fox remained with Lady Warwick for three years. She was then handed over, for reasons which are not known to us, to the care of Gertrude, Duchess of Bedford, her great-aunt. The old Duke had died in 1771; and his

¹ *Lady Sarah Lennox*, i, 281.

widow was left with three orphaned grandsons to tend and cherish ; for their father had been killed in 1767 by a fall from his horse, and their mother never recovered from the shock, and died shortly afterwards.

The marriage of Caroline's aunt, Lady Louisa Fitzpatrick, to Lord Shelburne in 1779, as his second wife, opened another home to her, especially after Caroline Vernon had left them to live at Warwick Castle. Jeremy Bentham, who had become a frequent visitor at Bowood after 1781, when Lord Shelburne first made his acquaintance, spoke of himself as Caroline Fox's *cavaliere servente*. He wrote of their first meeting in September of that year, and appended the following description :—" She is very prettily made, and has already a very womanly sort of bosom. . . . She seems a good-natured, pleasing kind of girl. . . . Her face, which I had like to have forgot, is far from an unpleasant one : but the form of it which is rather too long, a mouth which is the Fox mouth, and a set of teeth which, though white, are rather large, save her from being a beauty."¹ Although twenty years her senior, Bentham is said to have proposed marriage, and to have been refused. Abraham Hayward relates that in 1827, when Bentham was in his eightieth year, he wrote to Miss Fox reminding her of a flower which she had given him on the lawn at Bowood. " From that day not a single one has passed (not to mention nights) on which you have not engrossed more of my thoughts than you could have wished." We are told that the old man was much mortified and depressed by the coldness of her reply.² A cameo ring at Holland House bears witness to their friendship. It contains his hair and profile, with the words *Memento for Miss Fox* engraved on it, with the date of his birth and death at the age of eighty-four.

No letters from Bentham of this Bowood period have

¹ *Bentham's Works*, x, 106.

² *Quarterly Review*, 1873.

come down to us amongst the Holland House MSS., although a number of extracts are given in his *Works* from 1791 onwards of letters to Miss Fox, and to the "ladies" as a whole. "The ice," he wrote, "becomes more cold, I think, when the three Dianas get together : they are like snow, saltpetre and sal-ammoniac." In a letter to Lord Holland, in 1808, he wrote of himself, "he flatters himself with the idea of being not altogether unknown in your Lordship's circle, in his character of a quiet, painstaking, inoffensive creature, in whom no man has a companion, every man has a friend, and who, though an Englishman by birth, is a citizen of the world by naturalization."

Sydney Smith thus described him some years later to Caroline Fox, "Bentham has two minds. His book upon Usury, independent of its acuteness and good sense, is one of the neatest books I have ever read. And yet he is in his other works, I am told, so defective, as to render the operation of *Dumontism* absolutely necessary."¹

As Miss Fox comes so prominently into the narrative of Holland House in later years, a character sketch of her in 1790, written to her brother by their aunt Lady Ossory may not here come amiss :

To see your growing affection for and admiration of your sister gives me the truest satisfaction, and I trust you will both long live to be a comfort to each other.

If one was to talk of her charms one should flatter ; and yet she does charm, without features or complexion or figure, because she has perfect grace in every look, word and action, without any affectation. Everything that she does or says is

¹ The reference is to Bentham's friend Pierre Étienne Dumont, originally the pastor of a Protestant church in St Petersburg, and later a noted member of the Bowood circle. Dumont published the works of Bentham with such singular modesty, that hardly any mention of himself appears in those eulogistic volumes. But such was Dumont's way through life—to efface himself upon every occasion.

in character, and that character is as amiable as possible. Pliability free from servility, cheerfulness without noise, modesty without prudery, learning without pedantry, and religion without severity. Add to all these a real sweetness of temper and degree of patience rarely to be found, and you will perceive the character of the Hon^{ble} Caroline Fox, my very dear niece.

From 1781 onwards Caroline seems to have lived mostly with the Shelburnes, and after her aunt's death in 1789 took up her abode permanently with her uncle, who had been raised to a Marquisate at the end of 1784, to be known in future as Lord Lansdown.¹ The two youngest of her step-aunts, Caroline and Elizabeth Vernon, only a very few years her senior in point of age, were also constantly in residence there. The fact that they too were at one time under the Duchess of Bedford's roof, caused Bentham to write, "What an exquisite brood that old hen has sat upon!" He wrote of Elizabeth that she was not so beautiful as her sister, being "a little on the squat," but put her down as a very good, sociable kind of person, and very good-tempered.

From that period dates Caroline Fox's affection and lifelong friendship for "Aunt Ebey", as she was always known to the younger members of the family. Neither married. They kept house together after 1804 at Little Holland House, for twenty-five years, a partnership of interests which was only terminated by death.

What an upbringing for those young ladies, in the midst of that galaxy of talent with which Lord Lansdown had surrounded himself at Bowood, especially after his retirement from active parliamentary life. Bentham and Dumont, Ashburton and Camden, Mirabeau, Romilly, the Dutch physician Ingenhousz, Gavin Hamilton the collector of the Lansdown House statuary, Price, Morellet, Baring, Jekyll, are merely a few of the names of those who

¹ Lord Lansdown always signed his name without the terminal *e*.

occur to us as inmates of the house or as welcome guests. What opportunities for a girl of Caroline Fox's studious nature. Certainly she did not fail to avail herself of them. She managed as time went on to amass a fund of general knowledge which any one of the "blue-stockings" would have been proud to possess. Her love of reading and her powers of critical observation stood her in good stead. They led her to think out a subject for herself, to argue it, and to hold her own with those who had had the benefit of a far more solid education than had fallen to her lot.

And what of her brother, Henry Richard, Lord Holland? We find little mention of him in the family records until his name appears in the bottom form at Eton in August 1781, when he was not yet eight years old.¹ Thence he worked his way right through the school, to become a member of Sixth Form in the summer of 1790. He wrote to his sister about that time of a Latin speech which it had fallen to his lot to recite. "It really is a very dreadful thing to come into the middle of the school, and deliver a speech to a parcel of laughing boys and frowning faces under white wigs. At least I found it so."

During all that time he was under the care of Dr William Langford, who was for some years Lower Master and senior tutor at Eton. To him, in 1799, Holland sent two portraits of himself to choose from, in token of his respect and affection. Dr Langford wrote that he should choose the one that most resembled his old pupil; the other, "the sprightly man," as he described it, was to be sent to the Provost's Lodge. This still hangs there—a replica or copy by the artist of the portrait in the *Journal Room* by François Xavier Fabre, signed and dated 1796; although a letter from Dr Goodall in 1809, pleading for

¹ *Eton College Lists*, E. A. Austen-Leigh.

its retention, shows that Holland had then a mind for some reason or other to take it away. On the other hand, it would not seem probable that Dr Langford's picture, whatever that may have been, remained long in his possession ; for a letter, in 1804, from Caroline Fox to her brother, then travelling in Spain, reported that his old tutor had been incarcerated in the Fleet Prison, and that there seemed little likelihood of him regaining his liberty. Misplaced indulgence in handling a large family of sons had resulted in debts of such magnitude, that there seemed little possibility of them ever being paid.

The situation in which the children now found themselves was rather a curious one. Charles James Fox had broken away from Lord Shelburne in 1782. Richard Fitzpatrick had followed his lead, and indeed did all in his power to prevent a reconciliation, when it was mooted and finally carried into effect by the younger members of the family ten years later. Both his uncles took a great interest in the boy. Charles James Fox kept in close touch with him at Eton and elsewhere, and wrote, when Secretary of State in 1783, "I kept Henry till today, when I went with him to Eton. Notwithstanding what I have seen of him before, I am quite surprised at him. He really seems to me both for parts and good disposition to be quite a miracle." Granted that there was nothing miraculous about Henry Richard, Lord Holland, none of his contemporaries would have cavilled at one word of the remainder of this description at any period of his existence. He himself, however, described his upbringing in more modest phraseology. "My education resembled that of most young men of my rank, and though both a minor and an orphan, and treated with the tenderness of parents by my uncles, I was not spoilt by indulgence. I went through Eton and Oxford without disgrace and without distinction."¹

¹ *Memoirs of the Whig Party*, i, 3.

HOLLAND AND HIS SISTER

So Caroline lived chiefly with Lord Lansdown, and Henry in the camp of his rivals and detractors. Lord Upper Ossory, his real guardian, it is true, was less interested in politics, and may therefore have felt less harshly towards his youngest sister's husband. In any case no obstacle was interposed to prevent free intercourse between the boy and girl. They grew up devoted to one another, quarrelling only because, when apart, one did not write often enough to please the other. Henry had instituted himself his sister's classical instructor; and their early correspondence is full of the methods of making Latin verses and of similar technical and educational discussions. A few lines written by Henry, after a visit at Eton from his sister, may be quoted. They are remarkable only for the sentiments which they disclose, for bad grammar, and for abominable versification. But at least they ring true from the heart!

If you had staid a day
To me 'twoud seemed an hour,
Or if you'd staid a year
To me 'twoud seemed no more.
When you are absent, sister dear,
Slowly the hours pass away;
But when your presence charms my ear,
Ten thousand years seem but a day.

In the autumn of 1788 Henry, when still at school, experienced the remarkable sensation—vouchsafed only to a few, of reading of his own death in the newspaper. The error does not seem to have seriously worried most of his relations. Anyhow, his uncle Ossory wrote at once complaining of his nephew's negligence in not letting him know, especially as the lamentable event was said to have taken place at Amptill! He suggested, however, that Henry might only have been playing the farce of

NEW GENERATIONS

Dead Alive, and hoped that it would be said in the future :—

How strange a lot doth fate to Holland give,
Who dies when living, and when dead shall live.

Charles James Fox, however, could not take the matter so lightly. He was travelling in Italy at the time, and from various circumstances believed the report that his nephew was dead. Consequently he was the more overjoyed, when a messenger from the Duke of Portland, sent to acquaint him with the King's illness, came up with him at Bologna, and told him that the family tragedy was all a mistake.¹

We may quote one further reminiscence of Holland's Eton days before leaving the subject, brought back to his memory many years later by a certain reverend gentleman, Thomas Lloyd, who spoke of witnessing "a theatrical performance in Long Chamber," and continued :—

Nor does the Memory fail to recount that which perhaps one ought to have forgotten, the *social* meetings which we occasionally held at the Lower Chamber window, when we pledged each other from the *remanent* bottles of old Davies's wine after a party, supplied by the *honest* and *trustworthy* John. How little did we then think that we were seriously doing wrong ! and what would Keate,² one of the participators, say to such proceedings now ?

Henry left Eton in the summer of 1790, and straightway embarked on a tour of Scotland under the charge of the Rev. William Morris, accompanied for a portion of the trip by an Eton friend, Charles Beauclerk. He went into residence at Oxford, at Christ Church, in October ; and during the following long vacation was hurried off to the

¹ *Life of Sir Gilbert Elliot*, i, 236.

² John Keate, the celebrated Head-Master of Eton, was especially noted for the strictness of his discipline.

HOLLAND IN PARIS

Continent for a two months' tour, again in Morris's charge. They passed through Belgium and Switzerland, and incidentally visited Lavater at Zurich, before returning home through Paris.

The situation in France just then was a very interesting one. Mirabeau was dead; and the new Constitution was accepted by Louis XVI shortly after their arrival. Holland had already imbibed many of the liberal opinions of his uncles. "I have seen the old National Assembly," he wrote to his sister, "and hope, when I am old, to *stand on tiptoe* when it is named." He often dined with Lafayette, and was doubtless swept off his feet by the enthusiasm for the Revolution displayed by the latter and his followers. "No one seems to esteem or respect the character of Fayette," he wrote at the time of the latter's imprisonment, "and both parties provoke me equally, by attributing any other motives to that great man's conduct but benevolence and a love of liberty." From this commencement sprung their lifelong friendship.

Talleyrand was another Frenchman whom Holland met on this occasion for the first time. Madame de Flahault also, subsequently well known as the writer of *Adèle de Senanges* and other novels, to whom Lord Lansdown's eldest son, Lord Wycombe, had given Holland a letter of introduction, showed the latter great kindness in Paris. Holland described her as a very pleasant woman, who talked good English. She found it desirable to escape from France in 1792, when excess changed the whole character of the Revolution, and remained in London until the danger was past. Her safety she owed to the successful efforts of Wycombe and "Bobus" Smith to get her out of the country. Her husband was not so fortunate, was taken at Arras, and was guillotined. Holland, understanding that the lady was without a sixpence, recommended her to his sister's care, and promised to repay any money

which the latter thought fit to advance. He spoke of her as living during part of the years 1792 and 1793 in small lodgings at 7 Half Moon Street, where Talleyrand also was constantly to be found.¹ She was intimate with both Lord Lansdown and his son at this period, and was dining continually at Lansdowne House—seventy times in the six months subsequent to November 1792.²

Talleyrand had arrived in England early in 1792, included in a mission headed by the notorious Lauzun, by then Duc de Biron. Their orders ostensibly were to buy horses for the French army, but whatever their purpose such representatives were hardly likely to achieve success in England at that moment, and their stay was short. In their absence the situation had changed for the worse; and Talleyrand was more than fortunate to get back safely to England before the end of the year on a passport given to him by Danton.

Holland dined several times during his visit with Lord Stafford, the British Ambassador, but did not go to Court, and only saw the ill-fated Royal family at a distance. His one regret, to which he alluded in a letter to his sister from Paris, was that he was able to speak French so imperfectly—a failing which he soon took care to rectify.

In the summer of 1792 Holland took his final degree. Life at Oxford had not been a success so far as he was concerned. The methods of that University did not appeal to him, and he was never in sympathy with the head of his college, Dean Cyril Jackson. So strongly did he feel that his time had been wasted there, that he recurred to the point very feelingly in 1795 in a letter to his sister, when a question had arisen as to whether their cousin, Lord Henry Petty, Lansdown's son by his second wife, should be sent there. He went so far even as to urge the advantages of Cambridge :—

¹ *Whig Party*, i, 19.

² Lansdowne MSS.

OXFORD OR CAMBRIDGE

If the absurd system of Universities must, in compliance with the world, be adhered to, I think Cambridge is preferable. If (the necessary consequence of an University to a young man of any spirits or vivacity) it is necessary to drink etc., etc., it is better to do it like a gentleman than like a blackguard. At Cambridge they drink *more* than at Oxford; but drinking is not considered either as the end of their education, and as they are much more upon the footing of *men* than at Oxford it is not conceived to be *buckish* to drink. At Oxford debauchery is not pursued from passion, but merely because it is thought to be buckish. And I confess that considering Oxford in any way, I cannot imagine to myself a worse place for the education of a gentleman. There is pedantry without science, insolence without learning, and intolerance without firmness.

Holland went abroad again in the summer and autumn of 1792, returning in December. He toured Denmark and Germany, and arrived in Berlin at the end of October, to be joined by Beauclerk a few days later. On this occasion the young men were their own masters. Holland had intended to prolong his tour in order to visit St Petersburg, but circumstances were against it. He especially regretted his inability to go there at a moment when his uncle was looked upon with such favour by the Empress Catherine. In 1785 she had sent Charles James Fox a case of firearms, consisting of a fowling piece and two pistols, ornamented with silver, platinum and gold, with agates for flints. And in the summer of 1791, she had paid him indirectly an even greater compliment. Count Berborotko, her Chamberlain, was instructed to inform Count Woronzov, the Russian Ambassador in England, that she desired him to send her Charles Fox's bust.

Ecrivés au C^{te} Woronzof qu'il me fasse avoir en marbre blanc le Buste ressemblant de Charle Fox, je veut le mettre sur ma colonade entre ceux de Demosthene et Ciceron.

Il a delivré par Son Eloquence Sa Patrie et la Russie d'une guere a la quelle il n'y avoit ni justice ni raisons.

This letter is framed, and hangs in the *Library Passage*, near the firearms, with a miniature of the Empress, said to be by a certain Boutili. On the back we find :—

Traduction de la lettre du C^{te} Berborotko, datté de Sarsko Sello du 18 Juin 1791.

Je ne puis mieux executer ce qui m'est ordonné qu'en faisant parvenir a V.E. le billet original que j'ai reçu hier etent. malade. Elle connoit la main de celle qui l'a écrit et je sais d'avance que vous executerez ce dont elle vous charge a son grand contentement.

Ce billet etant écrit au crayon et pour qu'il ne s'efasse pas je l'ai couvert avec une plume et l'ancre.

From Copenhagen Henry wrote to his sister of the dangers to which he was being subjected, owing to the beauty of the ladies in Danish society ! Yet he proclaimed himself rather apprehensive that his heart was "flinty and incapable of the tender sensations which pastoral poets so beautifully describe," and gloried in his aloofness. His letters to her at this time teem with verses on Liberty, with admiration for the French Constitution, and similar themes ; and again and again he repeated his praise of Lafayette. He was furious with the latter's persecutors, and at the excesses which the extreme factions in France were perpetrating. He spoke with detestation of "the villain Condorcet," and "the monster Robespierre," an opinion which he emphasised in even stronger language, on the back of a miniature of the latter at Holland House. "Un scelerat, un lâche, et un fou." Yet Holland seems to have taken a particular interest in the mentality of the "despicable miscreant," as his uncle called him, for he even proposed after Robespierre's death, to write a book about him, if he could find sufficient material. Caroline Fox persuaded him to put off the project for at least a year ; and later, as she expected, the desire wore off.

Charles James Fox kept up a regular correspondence with his nephew during these absences abroad. The series of letters commenced before he left England in May 1791, and most were published by Lord Russell. Holland's replies have not survived ; but he specially mentioned to his sister one letter which he had received dealing with the French Revolution and the developments from it,¹ "It is rather odd that he is more republican than me in France and I more than him in England. But surely it must increase my respect for his character as well as my esteem for his person, that he hears with the greatest tolerance and good nature all my arguments and opinions ; and he is the only man I ever met with, who, when he has a decided superiority in talents and in experience, puts himself upon an equality and fights from a level without an appearance of affectation or condescension. He never fails writing to me every fortnight, except one that he missed ; and his letters are so kind as well as sensible, that I declare my love and admiration increase for him."

On his return home, Holland, from his own account in the *Memoirs of the Whig Party*, seems to have taken a hand in the reconciliation between Lord Lansdown and his uncle, Charles Fox, which was then in the making. Caroline Fox and the Misses Vernon, as we have seen, had taken up their abode almost entirely with the former after 1789. Holland as time went on spent more and more time in their society, and won his way to Lansdown's heart. A further bond between them was the young man's friendship for the latter's eldest son, John, Lord Wycombe, the only child of his first marriage, who was two years older than Caroline. His son by his second wife, Lord Henry Petty,

¹ The letter is printed in *Memorials and Correspondence*, ii, 371. October 12, 1792.

was born in 1780. Wycombe, known as Lord Fitzmaurice before his father's promotion in the peerage, was elected to the House of Commons in 1790 at the age of twenty-five. Two years later he spoke strongly against Burke's policy and the alarmist methods of the Government. He was very roughly handled by Pitt, although his speech was generally considered to be an excellent one ; and from that moment Lansdown transferred his support from Government to Opposition.

A mutual suspicion had always existed between Lansdown and Fox, which resulted both from the incident of the "Pious Fraud,"¹ and from their own political differences. But the possibilities of junction between them were greatly increased by the former's change of party. Lansdown seems to have held conversations on the subject with both Holland and Charles Grey, who at the age of twenty-eight was making a name for himself in Parliament. Fitzpatrick was one of the obstacles to any arrangement, but even he finally gave way. At least there were personal advantages to be gained, said he ; for he would be in a position under changed circumstances to see more of Caroline Fox and the Vernon sisters.² Further explanations took place in 1794 with satisfactory results. But the relations which were then established never reached the stage of an official pact. They remained in the form of cordial co-operation on the more important points of policy in which they were in agreement. Any attempt to go further and to reconcile divergent views would have been futile, and would probably have brought the whole structure tumbling to the ground.

¹ See *ante* p. 54.

² Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice's *Life of Lord Shelburne*, ii, 398.

CHAPTER VII

1793-1796

A FOREIGN INTERLUDE

HOLLAND himself tells us¹ that his relations were somewhat alarmed at the precocity which he had displayed in the conversations mentioned in the last chapter, and thought it best that he should spend a further spell abroad. He sailed for Spain, therefore, on March 30, 1793, with Captain Samuel Hood, in the *Juno* frigate, and as things came about did not return for three years—long after the date on which he came of age, November 21, 1794.

From the letters which passed between him and his sister, we glean that the course of his travels in the Peninsula was on the whole uneventful, and that he sailed for Italy from Gibraltar at the end of the year on the *St George*, a 98-gun ship. He reached Leghorn at the end of January 1794, in the company of Lord Granville Leveson-Gower, a contemporary and intimate friend at Christ Church, whom he accompanied to Naples. There he found more Oxford friends, Charles Beauclerk, Lord Boringdon and Lord Morpeth. Besides these, there were Lords Digby and Berwick, Lady Plymouth, Lord and Lady Henry Fitzgerald, Sir Godfrey and Lady Webster, Lady Bessborough, Lady Anne Hatton and others.²

This was Holland's first meeting with his future wife. He rapidly succumbed to the spell of Lady Webster's charm and beauty ; while she in her turn was quick to

¹ *Whig Party*, i, 46.

² *Journal of Elizabeth, Lady Holland*, i, 121 *et seq.*

recognise the superlative qualities with which he was endowed. She wrote :—

L^d H. is not in the least handsome : he has on the contrary many personal defects, but his pleasingness of manner and liveliness of conversation get over them speedily . . . He has a very complex disorder, called an ossification of the muscles in his left leg. . . .

L^d H. quite delightful. His gaiety beyond anything I ever knew ; full of good stories.¹

Elizabeth Vassall was born in 1771, the daughter of Richard Vassall, of Jamaica, and Mary, daughter of Thomas Clark, of New York. Her grandfather, Florentius Vassall, born in 1710, was a descendant of those holders of that name mentioned in the first Massachusetts Charter of 1629. He owned large properties in Jamaica, and married Mary, daughter of Colonel John Foster, who lived in that island. They had two sons and two daughters, the youngest of whom appears with him, as a child, in the portrait of him by Reynolds at Holland House, painted in 1758. He is said to have been the only American painted by Sir Joshua ; but we cannot vouch for this fact. The young lady married Mr Russell, and died in 1836. Ticknor wrote in 1819 that he knew some of the family. Certain of their ancestors had settled in Massachusetts, and one built a house which was still standing in Cambridge. A marble monument to one of them stood in King's Chapel, Boston.²

Elizabeth's parents lived chiefly in England. An only child, she was married at the age of fifteen to Sir Godfrey Webster, of Battle Abbey in Sussex, a man twenty-three years her senior. The following lines, written after seeing Miss Vassall on February 27, 1786, the year of her marriage, at a masquerade, are a meet tribute to her beauty :—

¹ *Journal of Elizabeth, Lady Holland*, i, 117.

² *Memoirs*, i, 264.

LADY WEBSTER

Imperial nymph, ill-suited is thy name
To speak the wonders of that radiant frame :
Where'er thy Sovereign form on earth is seen
All eyes are vassalls : thou alone art Queen.¹

With disparity of age and dissimilarity of tastes the marriage was fated to prove an unhappy one. Sir Godfrey was born and bred in the country. He was popular in the county, and took his share in its business, and in that of the State too, for he had sat in Parliament for some years. He could hold his own in the field by day, and could drink and gamble with the wildest at night. But his disposition was sullen and his nature obstinate and unyielding, while his temper was prone to fits of violence. So when depression settled upon him, as was often the case, he was no fit companion for a young wife.

Lady Webster had all her life before her, and every desire to enjoy it. She had intelligence far above her fellows, had definite ambitions, and looked upon some measure of social success as her right. She loathed "existence"—that was the word she used, at Battle, "the detested spot where I have languished in solitude and discontent the best years of my life." She had one glimpse of the world on a trip abroad during the first winter after her marriage, and had acquired the wish to see more of it. And so, after the birth of her eldest son, Godfrey Vassall, in 1789, she urged her husband to take her abroad again ; and in June 1791, the date when her *Journal* commences, her desires were gratified. A second son, Henry was born in Italy in February 1793, and a daughter Harriet in 1794, a few months after her first meeting with Holland. Two other sons died in infancy.

It is noticeable that from the very commencement of

¹ *Panorama of Wit*, J. Walker, 1809.

their journey the Websters were constantly falling in with their Sussex neighbours. In Paris they found the William Wyndhams, who lived at Bignor some fifty miles away. Thomas Pelham, son of Lord Pelham, subsequently created Earl of Chichester, was also there. His home was at Stanmer, in the vicinity of Battle; and that fact, combined with his friendship for Lady Webster, at times singled him out as a special object of Sir Godfrey's jealous suspicions. Pelham's letters to Lady Webster, dating from 1791 to 1796, show how deep was his attachment to her. He was her slave, always at her beck and call. To obey her behests was a labour of love. Yet it is perfectly clear that their relations never overstepped the bounds of friendship; and a charming letter from him in the autumn of 1796, when her divorce proceedings had been instituted, expressed his heartfelt wishes for her future happiness.

After a short stay in the French capital, the Websters moved to Lausanne, where Gibbon was then living. Pelham followed them; and the party was joined by Lord and Lady Sheffield, who resided in England at Sheffield Place, also in Sussex. Lady Sheffield died two years later. She had been Abigail Way before her marriage, and had struck up a close friendship with Lady Webster. A miniature by Plimer was given to her friend, in exchange for one of the latter by the same artist.

From the number of miniatures by Plimer's hand at Holland House dating from that period, that artist would appear to have spent a busy time in Sussex. We find a representation of Thomas Pelham; also one of Charles Rose Ellis, created Lord Seaford many years later, a friend of very long standing, with whom Elizabeth Vassall had been brought up. She told her son many years later that Ellis's kind thought was responsible for her coming-of-age party in 1791. Mrs Wyndham too sat to him in

1792 for Lady Webster. The latter herself seems to have been painted more than once by him, as was her mother, Mrs Vassall.

Gibbon in 1791 was fifty-four years of age. He had lived at Lausanne for the past two years ; and, in pursuance of a promise given at this time to return the visit of the Sheffields by staying with them in England, he was on the point of setting out in 1793, when he received the news of Lady Sheffield's untimely death. He hurried over to England, notwithstanding, in order to console his bereaved friend, only to meet death there himself, quite suddenly, on January 16, 1794.

A letter from Thomas Pelham to Lady Webster, dated December 7, 1793, gives an interesting account of a dinner party at Lord Chancellor Loughborough's house, at which Pitt, Burke and Gibbon were present :—

The party consisted of the Chancellor, Lady Loughborough, Lady Sinclair, Mr Pitt, the two Burkes, Windham, Gibbon, Elliot and Anstruther. Lady Sinclair seemed very uneasy about St James, and, tho' she cannot be said to be like you in y^e face, and is very inferior to you in manner, she somehow or other puts me in mind of you. The conversation was general, tho' as you may easily imagine France was y^e prevailing topic. It was somewhat singular that, excepting Gibbon and Elliot, there was not a man at table who had not said something disagreeable and hostile to Pitt in publick ; and it must have been a fair subject of exaltation for him, to find us all at that moment coinciding with him in opinion on the subject that principally engaged the attention of the publick at this moment. I think Pitt is improved in his manners since I left his society, but he retains the same unpleasant, continued laugh at almost anything he says in the way of observation. There was no reserve ; and yet I think he felt a sort of awkwardness whenever there was a silence.

Burke and Gibbon sat opposite to each other, and they were the principal supporters of the conversation. Their char-

acters are very different, and the superiority of Burke without any extraordinary exertion was very striking. Strength of memory and an accuracy of diction, which is rather too formal for common conversation, is Gibbon's merit. Burke has an equal, perhaps a superior memory, with an imagination and wit that always gave him an advantage over Gibbon. G. showed his memory and reading by frequent quotations and allusions to books, which always furnished Burke with an opportunity of making some remark or observation better than a quotation, which showed him at the same time to be as conversant with y^e book as G. I remember one instance in particular. L^d Loughborough had been speaking of L^d Shannon, who, in speaking of a young man he had brought into Parliament, said that he would not do, that he had a tongue you could not ride. This singular metaphor occasioned some conversation, till G., with a rap on his box and a long preface, quoted a page at least from Berenger on Horsemanship, who, comparing L^d Pembroke's and S^r Sidney Meadows' merits, spoke handsomely of L^d P.'s treatise on Horsemanship, and said as to S^r Sidney his horse was his pen. This metaphor was also laughed at, but Burke defended it, saying it was not uncommon for a man's pen to run away with him.

They talked a good deal of the massacre in Ireland and of Hume's relation of it ;¹ and I could observe that Burke spoke of Hume's hostility to all religion with an acrimony that extended to Gibbon. He said that Hume had wilfully misrepresented the Irish in that affair. He said that he met Hume in y^e Temple of Shakspear at Garrick's Jubilee, and told him that he was in possession of many curious papers relating to y^e massacre and rebellion which he would shew him. Hume declined seeing them, and acknowledged that he might have represented the events rather in strong colours, as he confessed that he had a strong prejudice against the nation. This seemed to be an extraordinary confession to make to Burke ; but I presume that it was done in a manner that was not personally offensive.

¹ The reference is to David Hume's *History of England*. ~

We find a long account of this visit of the Sheffields to Lausanne in the letters of their daughter, Maria Josepha Holroyd, to her aunt. It is plain from them that Lady Webster was not a *persona grata* with Gibbon. True, Miss Holroyd did not like her personally. "If anybody ever offends you so grievously that you do not recollect any punishment bad enough for them, only wish them a party of pleasure with Lady Webster! The ceremony began with irresolution in the extreme, whether they should go or not! How and which way they should go? And everything that was proposed she decidedly determined on a contrary scheme, and as regularly altered her mind in a few hours."¹ But it appears that the Websters lived chiefly with the French colony, while Gibbon preferred the Swiss: and that fact would not have ingratiated these particular visitors with him.

A year or two after Gibbon's death his library was put up for sale. William Beckford bought it for £900, but left it in Lausanne. He subsequently gave it to a certain Scholl, his physician, who died in 1831. The library was again sold in 1832, at a moment when Henry Edward Fox, the late Lord Holland, happened to be in the town. It then amounted to 2800 volumes. Fox bought nearly two hundred, "some very cheap, some dear."² He sent a curious *Lexicon* and a copy of *Apuleius* as presents to his father. The last-mentioned book is still at Holland House, complete with Gibbon's bookplate, but we have been unable to trace the first, nor indeed the remainder of his purchase. They found a temporary home, at least, in Fox's

¹ *Girlhood of Maria Josepha Holroyd*, p. 65

² The Vaud Cantonal library bought a number of the books, but about half were sold to an Englishman, a Mr Halliday. Halliday died in 1872, and the books were presented by his widow to the Rev. Charles Bedot. Some were subsequently sold, but the bulk of them remained intact till 1933, and remained in Geneva until quite recently.

small house in Paris, and may never have been brought across the Channel.

Life on the Continent suited Sir Godfrey as little as Battle had pleased his young wife. He found constant excuses for hurrying home to England; and this ill-matched couple drifted more and more apart. Lady Webster wrote in her *Journal* when on her travels near Perugia in 1793 :—

There are some charming little islands upon the lake. Harassed and worn by every vexation, I wished myself almost in one of them to escape domestic miseries. . . To that God—Nature, beneficent Creator, whatever thou art, I appeal. Some ruling providence there must be, else why does hope, a stranger to my bosom, glow in my breast whenever I address thee? To thee I pray for relief; annihilate miseries beyond endurance, or take me from the anguish of endeavouring to strive against them. Madness, brutality, derision of my dear father, all is my lot to experience. I have but two friends, Mrs Wyndham and T. P., and those I must hear calumniated, nay threatened to be robbed of.

The final separation took place in the spring of 1795. Lady Webster imputed the change which came over Sir Godfrey's manner to her in 1792 to money troubles due to his extravagant habits: and certainly the state of his finances was involved enough to have worried the strongest head. It is more probable, however, that he had taken a dislike to her friends and intimates; although she had certainly up to that time given him no real cause for complaint. Beyond a harmless flirtation or two, she never turned from the straight path until Holland came upon the scene. Doubtless there were many faults on both sides of the Webster menage; but their difference of outlook on life was the determining factor. An union such as theirs could never prove a success.



LIZABETH, LADY WEBSTER. 1798

*Subsequently wife of Henry Richard, third Lord Holland
From a painting by Louis Gauffier*



LADY HAMILTON

At the end of March 1794, the Oxford clique at Naples broke up, and Holland accompanied Beauclerk to Rome and Florence. Charles Beauclerk was the son of Lady Diana Beauclerk, herself a daughter of Charles, third Duke of Marlborough, and well-known for her talented sketches and drawings. She first married Lord Bolingbroke ; but ran away from him some ten years later with Topham Beauclerk, whom she married two days after her divorce. There are numerous small examples of her work in sepia at Holland House, including two groups of "Putti," and two likenesses of Charles James Fox.

During his stay in Naples, Holland became acquainted with Sir William Hamilton, the British Ambassador, whom Lady Webster described as a piece of walking *verd-antique*, and that celebrated beauty, his wife. He wrote in complimentary terms of the latter, "Of all the most vulgar, vain and disagreeable women I ever saw, the fair Ambassador's wife is the most so." He saw her one day in her famous attitudes, and, although they exceeded his expectations, he wrote, "One cannot but be disappointed, not to use a stronger term, at finding, after the interesting expressions of her countenance and the appearance of feeling so striking in her attitudes, that, when she joins the company, she is *vulgar* and seems to have no feeling or tact whatsoever. An Italian lady, upon hearing of all her different exhibitions, how she had acted Nina, and a Bacchante, and Agrippina, etc., etc., asked, 'E quando fara Miladi' ?" Holland also told a good story of how she declared in the course of a quarrel with Sir William, much to the entertainment of her hearers, that he knew nothing of *modest women* but had always lived with the *most abandoned*.

Lady Webster went with her husband to Rome early in May. She recorded the fact that Holland's delightful spirits caused the party to christen him "Sal volatile." They all soon moved on to Florence, where her daughter

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Harriet was born. Later Holland returned there from Venice, and was joined by Lord Wycombe.

Wycombe was a curiously complex character. His early speeches in Parliament, as we have seen, showed very decided aptitude and gave promise of a successful political career. Lord Lansdown might well have prided himself that his son would follow in his own footsteps : and was the more grievously disappointed when the idol fell from its pedestal. The glamour of the French Republic had thrown its spell over the young man, as it did in different degrees over so many of the younger members of the Whig party. After 1792 he remained constantly abroad, and was in such close touch with the Moderate party in France, that he was able at times to glean information which was of great use to his political friends at home.

Unfortunately, as Lord Lauderdale very truly wrote of Wycombe after his death, he had a rooted aversion to taking any part in public life. He had great ability, but allowed his eccentricities to dominate his intellect. Some idea of the queer doctrines which he professed can be gleaned from the following lines, written by the Rev. Mr Brand, and given to Lady Webster in 1795.

On L^d W——'s asserting there was no such thing as
Conscience.

Monboddo,¹ melancholy Sage,
Laments in this our leaden Age,
That men have lost their Tails !
That o'er each outward Form and Grace,
Which Nature gave the Human Race,
Degeneracy prevails !

¹ James Burnett, Lord Monboddo (1714-99), Scottish judge.

LORD WYCOMBE

Alas ! no longer *outward* man
 Alone disfigures Nature's plan,
 The Sense within decays !
 L-nsd-n¹ a *double* conscience bless'd,
 His son a want of one confess'd,
 Oh ! these degenerate days !

On Lord W-c-be's saying that there was no such thing as
 Public Virtue.

Public Virtue ! (cries W——) There is no such thing,
 Search all Ranks from the constable *down* to the King,
 'Tis a Meteor, a Phantom, a Bubble, a Smoak,
 'Tis a Demagogue's Mask and the Hypocrite's Cloak.
 We see that the youth has successfully thought on
 That difficult precept, the *Γρωθι σεαυτον*.²

The real keynote of Wycombe's career, it must be acknowledged, was the baneful effect which the fair sex seemed to have upon him. They were as dangerous to him, as he himself proved to their susceptibilities. "A Lovelace without his polish," was the verdict of the Bowood "ladies." Before he was off with one love, another had taken her place. For religion he had scant respect, and openly advocated the abolition of matrimony. So peculiar were his views on women, and so unusual was his mode of expressing himself about them, that he constantly referred, in his intimate correspondence, to Lady Gifford, whom he married in 1805 after the death of her husband, Sir Duke Gifford, as "the old sow," and was wont to describe her personal attractions in the most comical language. Holland related many years later how Wycombe once told him,

¹ Note by Mr Brand.—"I don't know enough of the noble Marquis to assert this on my own authority, but the association of Sh-lb-ne and duplicity is as familiar to our political ears as 'purling rills' or 'flowery meads' to our pastoral ones."

² Note by Mr Brand.—"The saying of one of the Sages of Greece, 'Know thyself'".

that he intended his strapping bride to be a barrier between him and the villainy of mankind !

Wycombe succeeded to the Lansdowne title in 1805 ; and by his wishes, at his widow's death in 1833, Holland received a picture of Marat, now at Holland House, which had belonged to her husband. Wycombe had purchased it in Paris, believing it to be by David—"an undoubted original" he called it. But from the inscription on an engraving by E. Beisson in the British Museum, it would appear to be taken from a portrait by Joseph Boze, painted in 1793. A similar one, apparently copied from one and the same original, is in the Musée Carnavalet in Paris.

At the period of which we are now speaking, Wycombe made the acquaintance in Rome of Mrs Wyndham, whom we have already mentioned as one of Lady Webster's closest allies although more than ten years her senior. Friendship quickly ripened into intimacy of a most tender nature. Frances Mary Harford, a natural daughter of Frederick, Lord Baltimore, had married, in 1784, the Hon. William Frederick Wyndham, Lord Egremont's brother, recently appointed British Minister at the Court of Tuscany. The Wyndhams had taken up their residence in Florence early in May, apparently on the outskirts, at the Villa Medicea at Careggi, which the late Lord Holland and his wife occupied many years later.¹ In July 1794, Holland wrote to his sister :—

The Tuscans must indeed have a strange opinion of the English. Lord Hervey² abuses the Prime Minister and the Grand Duke, and is recalled for his presumption ; but they get rid of a block to have a stork in exchange, for Wyndham

¹ Elizabeth, Lady Holland then spoke of having known the villa well in old days, when it was occupied by the Wyndhams.

² John Augustus, Lord Hervey, British Minister in Tuscany from 1787 to 1794. Son of Frederick Augustus, fourth Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry. He died in 1796.

horsewhipped unmercifully a poor Chamberlain, because he was thought to be a Jacobin, and afterwards fought him at Lucca. It was in consequence of being drunk and being a very wrong-headed fellow. Afterwards he behaved as well as possible, but to be sure the beginning was as bad as bad could be. Do you know Mrs Windham? She is a very odd woman, and seemingly very clever. What I first thought was affectation, I am now convinced is real singularity.

Holland and Wycombe went off to Rome in the autumn, but returned early in November, when Holland gave a ball to celebrate his coming-of-age. He spent that winter and the spring of 1795 in Florence.

It is evident that at this time Caroline Fox was doing all she could to persuade her brother to return home, but without success. Neither private business nor visions of public life—for he was all the time in close touch with political doings in England, could tempt him from the magnetic attraction which held him to Italy. He allowed, as early as the autumn of 1794, that he was in love. His affection for Lady Webster, by the year 1795, was very fully reciprocated. Sir Godfrey had left for England in May; and his wife and Mrs Wyndham took a house at Lucca Baths for the summer. Mrs Wyndham about that time separated from her husband, "that plausible caustic," as Thomas Pelham called him. Holland and Wycombe came to live near them. Lady Webster's father, Richard Vassall, died in the course of the year at the age of sixty-three: and she thereby succeeded to a fortune of over £10,000 a year.

By the end of August the whole party were back in Florence; and Lady Webster refers in her *Journal* to her intimacy with the Comtesse d'Albany and the celebrated Alfieri.

Louise de Stolberg, Comtesse d'Albany, was the daughter

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of Gustavus Adolphus, Prince of Stolberg-Gedern, and a descendant of that Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury who was forced to leave England for his devotion to King James II and his cause. She was born in 1753, and married in 1772 Prince Charles Edward Stuart, commonly known as "The Young Pretender." The alliance turned out a miserable failure. From the handsome, debonair young man, which a drawing in the *Library Passage*,¹ executed in ink with a crow quill by Giles Hussey, shows him to have been, he developed into a debauched and besotted adventurer. After eight years of misery, she left him for Count Alfieri, with whom she lived openly until his death in 1803. Her portrait, a head and shoulders, was given to Lady Webster at this time. The words, " Louise de Stolberg, C^{ss}e d'Albany, à Florence, 1796. Pour Lady Webster," in her own hand writing, are painted on the picture. It is in the style of François Xavier Fabre, who is said to have taught her to paint; and the picture may therefore be by her own hand.

Alfieri's career was full of incident and contradictions. His youth was a long series of gallantries, one of which involved him, during a long stay in England, in a duel with Lord Ligonier. He wrote his first *Tragedy* in 1775, and rose so swiftly to literary fame, that at his death at the age of fifty-four he was hailed as one of Italy's brightest stars. Lord Holland wrote of him from Florence to his sister :—

I was last Saturday at a representation of one of Alfieri's Tragedies at Madame d'Albany's. He acted the part of Saul himself, and is as good, if not a better actor than he is an author. His language is harsh and difficult for a foreigner, but the de-

¹ Anne, Countess of Upper Ossory is said to have bought this in 1770. There are five or six versions of the 1794. in existence, all slightly different, emanating probably from an artist, which passed through Messrs Christie's hands in 1928.

clamatory part of his Tragedies is very fine, his expression bold, his plan still bolder, and his metaphors sometimes very grand. He is like all other good poets a great *Plagiarist*, but as a Dramatic writer at least, Operas excepted, he is, I believe, the first Italian poet.

These gatherings in the Comtesse d'Albany's house were for many years a feature of the social life of Florence, especially to English visitors, and continued so until her death in 1824. Mrs Wyndham, writing in 1803, said :—

She has made no change in her mode of living after Alfieri's death. Her feelings must at times be very distressing, but in company I can perceive no difference in her. The two Fabres are very attentive, and by their means she is seldom alone ; and all her acquaintances make it a point to call upon her in the evening. With the Florentines she never associates. Therefore, except for a few of them, her society is very confined.

The Comtesse d'Albany, who must not be confused with the Duchesse d'Albany, the natural daughter of her husband by Clementina Walkinshaw, became more and more intimate with François Xavier Fabre after Alfieri's death. Indeed, she is believed to have actually married him, notwithstanding the difference in their ages, for she was thirteen years older than him. She left him everything in her will : and many of her belongings are now at Montpellier, bequeathed to his native town by him at his death in 1837.

In another letter from Mrs Wyndham we read :—

M^{de} d'Alb^y will not go to the Opera, that she may not see a Frenchman. Her home is frequented chiefly by Piedmontese, and a few Florentine men notwithstanding. . . . It is really droll to see her nodding and winking at Fabre, when feeding him with *tartines*, which she spreads with butter herself for him. I can scarcely refrain from laughing at his appearance whenever in the room. He looks so wild, with his head drest like two wings. His brother is acquiring some celebrity as a physician.

As late as 1819, the same correspondent wrote to Lady Holland from Florence :—

The Comtesse d'Albany preserves an excellent state of health and spirits. Her house is crowded with strangers of all countries ; and although many of the English complain of the formality which reigns *chez elle*, all are presented to her with very few exceptions, and generally form the greater part of the society at her house . . . I have her library at my disposal. She receives all new books that are worth reading from England, France and Germany.

Fabre was born in 1766. He studied under David, and, after some years in Rome, settled in Florence, where he remained for the rest of his life. He became naturalised as a Swede, probably to escape persecution when the French retired from Italy, and was appointed painter to the King of his newly adopted country. Amongst a number of paintings executed for both Lady Webster and Lord Holland in 1796 and 1797, was the portrait of the latter, to which we have already referred.¹ Other pictures by him at Holland House include a half-length portrait of Lucien Bonaparte. There is no mention of this in Fabre's letters ; and it is stated by Princess Liechtenstein to have been given to Lord Holland by the sitter at some period subsequent to 1815. Two large canvases illustrating classical subjects, *Marius and the Gaul* and *Ariadne and Theseus*, were painted respectively in 1796 and 1797. Further, there are two small heads of angels painted for Lady Webster in 1796.

Fabre, in writing to Lord Holland that year, spoke also of a picture by himself of Lord Wycombe and a number of small portraits by Louis Gauffier, a Frenchman who settled at Florence for the good of his health. Mrs Wyndham

¹ See *ante*, p. 111. Thomas Pelham wrote of that picture in November, 1796, "The portrait for resemblance is everything that his best friends can wish."

wrote in October 1801, that the latter was dying of consumption : and a year later, in September, that he was on his death-bed. Several of these pictures remain at Holland House. One, a small full-length of Lord Holland, was painted in 1794, with a dog by his side. Another represents Lady Webster, in 1795, with her spaniel, "Pierrot."¹ A third is of Henrietta, Countess of Bessborough.

In October 1795, another son was born to Lady Webster, but died shortly after birth. She spent the winter in Florence—"a delightful one," to use her own words. Lord Holland was her constant companion. She gave dinners three times a week, and invited the English who were passing through, as well as a certain number of favoured Italians. Amongst the latter, she cited Fontana, a celebrated scientist and director of the Museum : Fabroni, his sub-director : Don Neri Corsini : and Vittorio Fossombroni, a clever mathematician and Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. We have a small portrait of the last-named, painted in 1842, by Liverati, for the late Lord Holland ; for he became a friend of the younger generation as well.

In February 1796, Lady Webster went to Rome, accompanied by Lord Holland, and after a short stay made an excursion to Naples with her children. The object of her journey, she tells us in her *Journal*, was to see her old friend, Prince Italinski, a Russian, who had recently become *Chargé-d'Affaires* at that Court. The latter had the reputation of being a great scholar. When on one occasion he had corrected the bad English of a preface written by Sir Win Hamilton, Dudley North said that he had made the Knight as clear as day. Italinski, a man of fifty-five, had been Lady Webster's devoted admirer since their first meeting

¹ A reproduction of this picture faces p. 128.

some three years before. So inconsolable was he at the prospect of her departure from Naples in 1793, that she consented to sit for her portrait for him. The picture was executed by Robert Fagan, an amateur English painter, who was Consul-General for Sicily and the Ionian Isles.

Fagan showed pictures on three occasions at the Royal Academy, but is better known for his success as an importer of Italian old masters into England than as an artist. He was responsible for the export of the Altieri Claudes to this country. He lived in Rome for some years, and was married to a very beautiful Italian, who, after his death in 1816, married a Sicilian. Young Henry Fox (the late Lord Holland) spoke of a number of pictures in her house in 1829, and purchased one of Lady Bessborough by Fagan, which he sent as a present to her son, Lord Bessborough.

The subsequent history of the picture of Lady Webster is a curious one. At the very period of this lightning visit to Naples, it had been bespoken by Lord Bristol, the eccentric Bishop of Derry, who was lying desperately ill in the town, and had sent a request to Italinski, as from a dying man, to be allowed to borrow it.¹ Lady Webster shall tell her own tale:—

As soon as the physician declared him in danger, he sent to Italinski for my picture, adding that, although he had refused him a copy, he could not deny a dying man anything. Italinski was embarrassed, but sent the picture. As soon as it came he had it placed upon an easel at the foot of his bed, and round it large *cires d'église*, and for aught I know to the contrary he may

¹ Lord Bristol recovered, and lived till 1803. He was occupied in buying Italian pictures at the time for his own collection, notwithstanding the belief, which he expressed in Holland's hearing, that all schools of painting put together could not compare with the English. The picture has been reproduced in the *Journal of Elizabeth, Lady Holland*, and elsewhere.

still be contemplating my phiz. What makes this freak the more strange is that it is not from regard to me, as he scarcely knows me, and never manifested much liking to me ; probably it reminds him of some woman he once loved, and whose image occupies his mind in his last moments.

The sitter is depicted in an open colonnade, with a distant view of the Bay of Naples and Vesuvius in the background. "Pierrot" lies upon her lap. Apparently the picture was not a good likeness ; but for this the painter was evidently not entirely to blame. Italinski wrote early in 1794, "*Le portrait ne vous résemble pas autant qu'il aurait pû ressembler, si vous aviez voulu prendre sur votre tems plus de cinq minutes, qui est ce que vous avez accordé au peintre . . . L'artiste a eu le talent de saisir et d'exprimer quelques beaux traits, auxquels on vous reconnoit sans peine . . . Le chien est comme s'il avait été peint pour vous et non pour moi : il est parfait.*"

Henry Fox, when in Rome in 1826, was taken to call on Italinski, then Russian Ambassador. He found the old man seated under his mother's portrait, which had always accompanied the diplomatist wherever he went, to Constantinople and on his other missions. Italinski died during the following year at the age of eighty-seven ; and Fox found, on his return to Rome a year later, that the picture had passed into the possession of the new Ambassador, Prince Gargarin. The latter, having no special interest in it, was willing to allow the family to purchase it for a very modest sum. Lady Holland wrote to her son on October 27, 1828, "My picture from Italinski is arrived, and approved and criticised differently. It was damaged in the packing, but Mr Calcott ¹ has most good-naturedly stretched the canvas and given the holes a little paint, and it is quite as good as ever. I cannot think that it could ever have

¹ Afterwards Sir Augustus Calcott, P.R.A.

been like me, or at all to compare with that at Amphill by Romney, or Hoppner's in the Blue Drawing room."

After a short stay in Florence on her return, Lady Webster set off for Austria and Germany, accompanied by her servants and children, with a view to return to England. Holland caught her up at Padua. During the intervening fortnight she had managed to put into execution a plot which had evidently been hatching in her brain for some time past. She had by that time fully realised that she had reached the parting of the ways. Her relations with Holland were no secret; and their child was likely to be born before the end of the year. A final breach with Sir Godfrey was clearly inevitable. Doubting, therefore, as she tells us later,¹ whether she could face the scandal and publicity involved by her situation, she dreamed of burying herself in some remote corner. She felt that the inevitable loss of her children might be the hardest thing of all to bear, and she therefore bethought herself of the possibility of retaining her daughter, now nearly two years old, to keep her company. The scheme was an insurance, so to speak, against the future, whatever it might have in store for her. A paper in her own handwriting gives full details. That Holland was privy to her plans beforehand seems improbable; for his wife expressly stated in the summer of 1799, when she subsequently returned Harriet to Sir Godfrey, that she did so for fear of involving her new husband in a difficulty.

Briefly, her course of action was as follows. She sent most of her servants direct to Padua, and took with her the three children, her Italian maid, whose own infant, four years of age, accompanied her, the nursery-maid, cook and two menservants. She pretended on the road that

¹ *Journal*, i, 263.

Harriet was ill and sickening for measles : and at Paullo, three or four posts from Modena, painted some red spots on the child's arms. She thus convinced the nursery-maid that there was danger of infection, and sent her with the two boys and one footman to await further orders at Modena. She had brought with her a guitar, the case for which might easily have been taken for a tiny coffin. In this she placed stones, and arranged a wax mask on a pillow swathed in white linen, for fear that it might be opened by the Custom Houses. The box was then sent by the second *valet-de-chambre* to Leghorn, with orders to the British Consul to inter it !

Quitting the inn at Paullo at dead of night, Lady Webster left Harriet, dressed in boy's clothes, with the maid and her daughter, at a small post-house near Modena, and proceeded herself to that town, where she broke the tidings to the others. The maid, who was stated to be nursing her own child with measles, travelled through Germany to Hamburg with the two children, under the name of Madame Saludini, an officer's wife. Lady Webster met them at Hamburg at the end of May, and placed Harriet in concealment in England, until circumstances three years later convinced her that her best policy was to disclose the fact that the girl was still alive.

CHAPTER VIII

1796-1799

LIFE IN KENSINGTON.

WE have travelled far from our objective in the last chapter. During part of Holland's long minority Holland House was let to Lord Rosebery,¹ and subsequently to a Mr Bearcroft. But in order to comprehend how the family was situated, when they themselves were again in a position to reoccupy it, we have compelled the reader to follow the fortunes of its youthful owner, and therefore make no apology for our digression.

Within a few days of Lady Webster's return to England in June 1796, proceedings for a divorce were commenced by her husband. For many months, apparently, she hesitated whether she would remarry at all if the Bill of Divorce was passed in Parliament; and this indecision may have been one of the chief reasons for the concealment of her daughter Harriet. Difference of age perhaps—she was two years and eight months older than her lover, “a horrid disparity,” she calls it in her *Journal*, may have increased her doubts. But the genuine depth of her affection for Holland, and his quiet but determined persistence, won the day. Soon after his return from abroad he was writing to his sister that he had no further fears on that score.

Holland's first care was to find a residence. The structure of Holland House had suffered during its occupation by strangers, and was not yet ready for occupation. Besides, Lady Webster developed scruples about living there before her divorce, in the belief that the world might impute a

¹ Neil, third Earl of Rosebery (1728-1814).

want of delicacy ; and in this view she was strongly backed by Caroline Fox. A house, therefore, was taken in Brompton Park, and there her child, Charles Richard, was born in November. In the following spring they moved to Money Hill, near Rickmansworth.

The chief difficulty which had to be faced was the uncertainty whether Sir Godfrey would move for a divorce or not. His moods changed from day to day. At one moment he was reported to be shedding tears ; at the next was in the best of spirits. He said that he would do everything to make things easy for his wife, and would not think of asking for damages ; yet was perfectly furious when she asked for a picture of her late father, which was hers by right.¹ Next morning all was again *couleur de rose*. Then he suggested an alliance between Lady Webster's spaniel and one of his own ; and actually sent word to Holland that he would be willing to accept a present of one of his terrier puppies ! That it was not in the interest of his boys to continue proceedings, was the next phase. Soon afterwards a suggestion reached his ears that Holland was considering the purchase of a picture of Lady Webster, if Sir Godfrey did not want it. It had for nine years been hanging in Romney's studio. Sir Godfrey promptly sent one of his relations to say that he would call Holland out for the insult—not for running away with his wife, it must be observed ! Finally, he put forward a long list of articles which Lady Webster was required to give up, if the case was to go on. Many had been bought with her own money, and some were not even in her possession !

A paper in Lady Holland's own handwriting takes up the story of the divorce proceedings in 1797 :—

I shall close the account of this painful business by simply

¹ There are two portraits of Richard Vassall at Holland House, one by Reynolds, painted in 1757, and a second by Hoppner, 1793.

stating the few facts that have passed since Jan. After much discussion Sir Godfrey drew up an agreement previous to the trial in Westminster Hall, which fixed the damages at £6000, and settled an allowance upon me of £800 p.^am, let the decision of Parliament in my favor be what it might. The stipulation on Sir Godfrey's part was, *no* defence and no proofs to be brought against him, and a promise that all should go on quietly in Parliament and the payment of *all* old bills and costs out of the £6000. We made no defence, and the Jury gave £6000. We remained satisfied that all would continue to go on smoothly. The Chancellor, upon reading the clause in the Bill, said it was iniquitous and must be thrown out. Sir G. heard his opinion, and informed Mr Adam that he should drop the Bill, if we did not get an attendance to *fight* the Chancellor upon this *point of law*. We prevailed upon Mr Fox to conquer the reluctance he would naturally feel at having a personal interview with L^d Loughborough. He saw him, and found him inflexible as to the rejection of the clause, adding that he could not allow *me* to be robbed of my fortune. Sir G. was frightened, and accepted of a bond signed by the D. of Bedford, Charles Ellis, Sir G. Affleck, and Lord Holland, that they would be responsible, if I did not renounce my Estate within 2 days after the Royal assent. The Chancellor in the H. of Lords said that, in the case even of no divorce, the Estate was mine, and that Sir G. W. was a perfect *stranger* to it, and that the H. of Lords could not set my Grandfather's will aside.

Hence Sir G. Webster gains by the divorce :—

£6000 Damages.

£7000 p^r a^m from my Estate, with a promise of unmolested possession.

£1000 p^r a^m released from his Estate of my Jointure.

£ 300 p^r a^m Pin Money.

£ 800 p^r a^m to be paid me out of the W.I. Estate for our *Joint* lives.

Besides this, the Indemnity for Webby and Henry, in case of children born during Sir G. W.'s life.

Not content with this lucrative bargain, he is again pressing

A HEARTY WELCOME

the payment of trumpety bills, and demands £84 for himself for the board of a servant's child in his *own* house.

Finally, Lady Webster's marriage was annulled by Parliament on July 4, and she became Lady Holland two days later. The wedding took place at Rickmansworth Church. The officiating clergyman was the Rev. William Morris, the rector of Chenies, Holland's former tutor and travelling companion. Mrs Vassall, the mother of Lady Holland, as we shall in future call the latter, had married during the previous year Sir Gilbert Affleck, of Dalham Hall, Cambridgeshire. Her new husband had been most helpful in acting as a go-between for the two parties during the divorce proceedings, and now gave the bride away.

Lady Holland can have had little to complain of on the score of the welcome which she received from her husband's relations. Much to his delight, they met her with open arms. "They came, those in town; and those in the country wrote to me," are the words of her *Journal*. Even old Lord Lansdown was kindness itself, and invited them to spend a week at Bowood shortly after their marriage. Their finances, however, were by no means in a prosperous state. Most of Lady Holland's money had now passed to Sir Godfrey. Holland himself, even after his long minority, was severely crippled by the damages for which he had been made liable, and had not yet completed the final payment to Government in respect of his grandfather's Pay Office accounts. Lady Holland, it seems, had earned a reputation for extravagance in the past; but Holland assured his sister, that she was "excessively anxious and active" in keeping their expenses within bounds, and in "methodizing" the accounts—as to the truth of which statement he called on his man of business, Mr Moore, to witness.

The Hollands did not take up their residence at Holland

House until the end of September 1797. It had been all ready for occupation in the spring, and although it was decided not to move in until after the marriage, Holland passed much of his spare time in the gardens. The fascination of the House and its surroundings soon took complete possession of him; and his original intention, openly expressed shortly after his return to England, of living there for a year or two, and of then selling the entire property on building leases, began to fade into the background. "I have determined," he wrote to his sister at the end of March, "to make it both a town and country house and my regular and permanent residence."

Shortly after Holland's return to England in 1796, he put himself in communication with Horace Walpole (who had in 1791 become Earl of Orford), doubtless through the agency of his aunt, Lady Upper Ossory, Walpole's special friend and correspondent. The young man sought apparently to obtain information regarding certain friends of his grandfather, Lord Holland. Horace said that he would do all he could to help, as far as his recollections of the past would allow. And a month or two later, on hearing that Holland House was to be "newly furnished," he recommended carpets made by Samuel Lysons, the antiquarian, from patterns evolved from recently discovered Roman pavements.¹ Lord Orford died in 1797. Caroline Fox, true to the Whig principles which never deserted her, wrote of him many years later. "He seems to have been a friend of freedom, and liberal and tolerant in his political principles till the horrors of the French Revolution converted him, as General Fitzpatrick truly said, into an old woman frightened out of her wits."

At a dinner which took place at the House on October 14, shortly after the newly wedded pair had gone into residence, a final decision was taken that Opposition should not attend

¹ *Letters*, xv, 422-8.

the opening of Parliament. Charles James Fox and the Duke of Bedford were among those present.¹ Some years before, when the French Revolution had split the Whig Party in twain, and when the Duke of Portland and his followers joined Pitt's Government, Fox and the little band who had remained with him had seriously considered a withdrawal from Parliament. On that occasion his better judgment had restrained him from adopting that ill-advised measure, which in the history of the world has seldom failed to bring retribution upon the heads of those who have fallen into the delusion. At the time of which we are now speaking, however, he was talked over, and acquiesced, probably from indolence and also from visions of a blissful and undisturbed life at St Anne's Hill with his adored Mrs Armistead. The most active supporters of the scheme were Charles Grey, Lord Lauderdale and the Duke of Bedford. The plan was adopted hastily, and its scope was not very exactly defined. Consequently opinions were divided ; and some of those who did not agree with the expediency of the measure, George Tierney in particular, continued to attend in Parliament, thereby completely defeating the object which the Party had hoped to attain. Lord Lansdown did not at all approve of secession, and openly expressed his fears. "Is your Uncle aware what he is doing ?" he said to Holland. "Secession means rebellion, or it is nonsense."

Holland himself had taken his seat in the House of Lords soon after his return to England, but took no part in debate until the autumn of 1797, and indeed seldom attended. But after his marriage his position was different : and he then began to look forward to taking an active part in the cause which he had so much at heart. The resolution to secede, therefore, must have been gall to him. Fortunately, his uncle took a broad view of the situation. "I

¹ *Journal*, i, 148.

own," Fox wrote, "I remain very averse to the thoughts of more than one day in the House of Commons for *me*, but I confine my opinions exactly to my expression, and do not see why those who have any inclination, or who fancy there is any good opportunity, should not attend. I am sure it would do no harm, and if it excited any sensation it would do good."¹

A month later, when the Assessed Taxes Bill was about to be debated in the House of Lords, Fox went so far as to urge his "dear young one" to try his hand at a Protest; and further suggested that it need not be confined to the tax, but might enter into "the general state of things."

Acting on this hint, and with further encouragement as well, Holland proceeded to make his maiden speech in the Lords on January 10, 1798. He refers to its shortcomings in his *Memoirs of the Whig Party*, but his sensations are much more graphically described in a letter to his sister, written just after the event:—

I have spoken, but it was with some difficulty, and I have proved by experience the injustice of the accusation of my being impudent and unabashed, for no person that got through with his speech at all was ever, I believe, so frightened. I cannot tell what I said: all I know is that I did not say what I intended, and that I do not well know what I did say. However to shew the good, as well as the bad side of the picture, I learnt by my speech that I had words at my command better than I thought, because I never did think that I could command in a speech any thing like grammatical language. I found too that I could modulate my voice, and that my voice is distinct: and upon the whole I did better than I expected, though I certainly disappointed those who knew me only from newspaper puffs and thought that from my name I had a right to eloquence. My violence will of course be abused by some and be lamented by many of my friends, but that which is called violence is

¹ *Memorials and Correspondence*, iii, 138.

the only circumstance of my speech which I have no fault to find with. Times like these call for distinct and decided declarations, and I could not make any consistent with my opinions short of those I did.

Holland also entered the Protest, entirely of his own wording, which contained, in addition to his objections to the Bill, his conviction of the necessity for a change of Ministers and for a reform of Parliament. Unfortunately, one other Peer only, Lord Oxford, signed it with him.

Again, Holland did not lack moral support from his uncle after the event :—

I do assure you, my dear young one, that I do not flatter you at all, if by flattering is meant saying more than one thinks ; but if praise is to be called flattery, then I beg that you will tell Lady H. that I know enough of the family constitution to know that it is remarkably good and wholesome for us all, and that too in good doses. I think your speech, whether well or ill given, reads very well indeed, but it was not the goodness of the speech only that I alluded to, it was the stoutness of fighting so well, all alone against them all, and I was really delighted full as much as I said, or more.¹

During the debates on this Bill in the Commons, most of the seceders broke their resolution and were to be found in their places. Even Fox was persuaded to oppose in an “incomparable speech.”² Bedford, too, had put in an appearance in the House of Lords.

Francis, Duke of Bedford, had succeeded his grandfather in 1771, at the early age of six. He was one of that “exquisite brood” of which Bentham had spoken so feelingly, when he, his brothers, the Misses Vernon, and Caroline Fox, were all fostered and cared for by his grandmother, Gertrude, Duchess of Bedford. Education, apparently, was not the old lady's forte, and at twenty-four Bedford

¹ *Memorials and Correspondence*, iii, 141–2.

² *Journal*, i, 165.

had hardly opened a book. An ardent Whig and a follower of Charles Fox, to whom he left £10,000 at his death, although he was not always ready to accept his advanced views, Bedford literally forced himself into politics. He was rapidly becoming a good speaker, and, notwithstanding serious drawbacks of manner which were bound to make him unpopular with the masses, he could not have failed with his advantages in life to have become a prominent figure in public life, had not death cut him off all too soon in the prime of life. Lady Holland wrote of him in her *Journal*, "His manner to *all* is rude and to acquaintances must be intolerable; but exterior polish is immaterial when the foundation is good, and with him it is respectable: no man so just, so generous, so true," He died in 1802 after an operation, to the great grief of his friends and of none more than the Hollands, who were both devoted to him and mourned his death as a tragedy.

A marble bust by Nollekens, dated the year before his death, stands in the *Entrance Hall*. Holland had originally thought of buying a picture of his friend by Hoppner, which was in the painter's studio at the time of his death, but was frankly warned by the latter that it was not considered to be a good likeness. He therefore contented himself with a miniature by Grimaldi, taken from another Hoppner portrait at Woburn.

Once settled at Holland House, the Hollands began to entertain, if only in a small way; for besides their other embarrassments, the new Assessed Taxes cost them more than a £1,000 a year. Lord Lansdown was amongst the guests early in 1798—a great honour, for on principle he never dined out. What memories of the past must this visit have awakened in the old man's breast! He would have recollected his early friendship for Henry Fox, and

their subsequent quarrel, in which he always maintained that he was the wronged party. Lansdown had asked Caroline Fox in 1795, when his reconciliation with her uncle, Charles, was in the air, whether she did not believe that the latter had an old prejudice about some transaction between him and her grandfather. "I said, 'I believe he had a much stronger one than any which transactions between themselves had given rise to.' He said, 'Very well, I have preserved all the letters relating to that business, and I will, if he chuses, produce them, and leave it to his candour to determine whether I, then an inexperienced young man, was not made the scapegoat of other and abler politicians than myself, L^d Chatham and L^d Bute.'"

How different was the face of the world since those days. America had become independent, France was no longer a Monarchy. Lansdown himself had once in times gone by joined forces with the son of his old friend and subsequent enemy : he had broken with him, and now again they were at least defensively allied. He had lost two wives who were devoted to him : he was on bad terms with the son who had inspired him with such hopes, only to disappoint. His friends, for one reason or another, had fallen away : the Bowood *coterie* were mostly dispersed or dead. His was a sad and solitary old age, with one redeeming consolation, the love and companionship of the Vernon sisters and of his niece, Caroline Fox.

Even this trio was soon to be separated, for Caroline Vernon had recently accepted proposals of marriage from Robert Percy Smith, best known to the world as "Bobus," her junior by eight or nine summers. Caroline was probably the least attractive of the three Vernon sisters. Lady Holland described her as, "demoiselle froide." "Those who live with her say she has wonderful capacity ; but as it is known to only two or three persons, she must submit

to the aspersion of great dulness. *Au reste*, I believe she is a good sort of person." But as the two ladies never hit it off, we need not accept this unflattering description in its entirety.

So far, however, did Lady Holland carry her bias, that she never made friends with Bobus either, a fact which Holland bitterly lamented. Bobus was born in 1770. The men had been allies at Eton ; and although their paths led them to rival Universities, their intimacy had continued unchecked. Bobus had been a regular contributor to the *Microcosm*, an Eton Journal in which Canning and Hookham Frere had also taken leading parts. His reputation for wit and originality has always been assessed on a lower scale than that of his younger brother Sydney. Yet those who were privileged to be called his familiar friends found little to choose between them.

The marriage, which took place on December 9, 1797, at 5.30 in the morning, at Bowood, in order to allow the newly wedded couple to reach their destination that evening, turned out most happily, although at the time they had little money to spare. Bobus was called to the Bar that same year, thus refuting Holland's apprehensions that he might find himself so comfortable and so happy as to forget a troublesome passion like ambition. "I remember old Heath said," her brother wrote to Caroline Fox, "on hearing that several able men opposed him in his prize at Cambridge, 'Aye, let them come on ; and be they who they will and what they will, I'll warrant they'll find Bob Smith a great deal above their match.' " Through Lord Lansdown's influence he obtained the appointment of Advocate-General of Bengal in 1803, and returned seven years later with an adequate fortune.

Bobus Smith's portrait at Holland House belongs to a much later date, a copy of one painted by Jackson in 1823 for the New River Company. His comments when

sending his "morose countenance" to Holland House in 1839 were characteristic. "I have, I believe, outlived a great deal of ill-temper since I was painted, but I can hardly think I ever looked so grim as the picture has made me. Sure I am that in more than 50 years I never met you with such a face, nor ever shall."

At the commencement of 1798, as we have seen, Lord Lansdown showed much kindness to Lady Holland. But as the months went on, his suspicious nature got the upper hand and the relations between Bowood and Holland House became strained. Wycombe was the bone of contention. He had gone straight to Ireland in August 1797 on his return from the Continent, and there employed his time in a bickering correspondence with his father, by interesting himself in Irish politics, and by a succession of flirtations and love affairs. Lansdown had apparently been willing to meet him on many of the points at issue between them, which were largely of a financial nature: but the more he gave way, the more unkindly did his son behave.

Wycombe's relations with Mrs Wyndham were ostensibly maintained, but he drove her wild with his infidelities, as the result of which she finally followed him to Ireland. Through her, but not by her fault, Lady Holland became implicated. Lord Lansdown believed that Mrs Wyndham was artful and designing (which she was not), and that Lady Holland, as her friend, was egging them both on against him. The fact too that Wycombe, on returning from Ireland at the end of 1798, lived at Richmond, was constantly at Holland House, and refused to see his father—"to keep up a good understanding between them," as the young man put it, confirmed Lansdown's doubts. Wycombe believed, on the other hand, that his father had "got her over," and that consequently Lady Holland's

advice and entreaties were framed in Lord Lansdown's house.

In reality, Lady Holland, as her *Journal* tells us, felt that Wycombe was behaving abominably. But as usual the office of peacemaker proved a thankless task; and the Hollands, with every good wish to mend the situation, found themselves embroiled with both sides.

Another matter of great interest to Holland during 1798, was the arrest and death in a Dublin prison of his cousin Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Lord Edward was a younger brother of the second Duke of Leinster. His mother, the Dowager-Duchess, sister of Caroline, Lady Holland, had always kept closely in touch with her great-niece and great-nephew. Lord Edward had fought in the American war, but became imbued with the spirit of the French Revolution in an acute form, and openly joined the seditionaries in Ireland after his dismissal from the English army. The story of his attempt to resist arrest, and of his death from the wounds then received, is too well known to be recounted here. It would appear, however, on the authority of Lord Wycombe, who was in Dublin at the time and was in a position to obtain reliable information, that he would have recovered, had it not been that the intense state of excitement from which he was suffering aggravated the inflammation of his wounds. The picture of him at Holland House, a head and shoulders, is a copy after Hamilton, probably from an original at Carton. It was given to Holland by Wycombe at this time.

On June 21, the Prince of Wales dined at Holland House. As it was the first time that he had honoured his hosts, he arrived in good time at six—too punctually, as it turned out, for the party was not complete till half-past seven! Grey, Tierney, Whitbread, the Duke of Norfolk, Lords Suffolk

DINNER PARTIES

and Bessborough, Lord John Russell (afterwards sixth Duke of Bedford) and his brother Lord William, the Duke of Leinster, Lord Robert Spencer, Francis, and Adam were amongst the guests. In July, the Hollands left for a tour of Scotland, and did not return to Holland House until November, just in time for the meeting of Parliament. Gout, to which Holland became a martyr in later years, had already commenced its attacks, in an aggravated form. So much so that Mrs Wyndham wrote to Lady Holland that it would soon make up for any advantages which he might have over her in point of years ! “Exercise and temperance,” wrote Holland, “give the gout ; which gives me much concern, as my habits incline me to the latter, and my friends tease me to the former.”

A dinner to celebrate Holland's birthday on November 21 was the precursor of entertainments in Kensington throughout the winter ; on a small scale, it is true, as a second Fox son was born to Lady Holland on January 18, 1799. It is noticeable in the lists of guests, as detailed in her *Journal*, how very largely the male sex predominated. Lady Bessborough and Mrs Wyndham were habituées, and besides them at times Lady Plymouth and Lady Oxford, as well as of course the ladies of the family. Lady Bessborough's sister Georgina, Duchess of Devonshire was present on more than one occasion, but far less intimacy existed in her case. Thomas Pelham had written to Lady Holland some years before, when she first met the Duchess and Lady Elizabeth Foster abroad :—“Pray do not like Lady Eliz. She is amazingly clever and will try every possible means to ingratiate herself with you, but so she would with everything. I hope you will love the Duchess and forgive some of her peculiarities ; but above all do not adopt their manners.” It was just those peculiarities which Lady Holland could not forgive, especially the Duchess's craze for gambling and all that followed in its

train. She had ample chances of observing the calamities which that vice had brought upon her husband's family, and she was always careful to keep him away from the temptation. But Holland himself was also fully alive to the fact ; and fortunately the lure of the gaming table never had any fascination for him.

Lady Bessborough, on the other hand, was always a most welcome guest. Holland had written of her to his sister in 1794. "I really do think that I never saw so *goodhearted*, good a person in my life, so entirely devoid'd of all art or affectation, and so tormented by every body." Nor did he find reason to change his opinion. The last lines of his reference to her death in Italy many years later, in a letter to his sister, might have served for her epitaph with little alteration. "It was in great measure occasioned by fatigue and exertions for a grandchild who died at Parma. It was like her, who all her life had been sacrificing her time and comfort to others, to sacrifice her life too to her affections."

Lady Holland no doubt had to put up with many slights at this time, as was natural for one in her situation ; and although she took the line that it was difficult to affront or mortify her, she was not likely to risk invitations to her house if there was any chance of them being thrown back in her face. Her men friends, however, and those of her husband, flocked there, and made up for any deficiency in the number of the other sex. Sometimes they dined, sometimes they dined and stayed the night, while the most favoured would find beds prepared for them for a few days at a time. The Hollands at this period seem to have thought nothing of driving up from Kensington to dine in town or to go to Drury Lane, which they always favoured, doubtless on account of Sheridan's and Kemble's association with it, in preference to Covent Garden. When "Monk" Lewis was about to produce a new play at the latter theatre in 1802, he wrote to Lady Holland, "I am afraid that the

WELCOME VISITORS

fastidious taste and Sheridanian prejudices against Covent Garden, which prevail at Holland House, will make you find fault with my performers, with whom I am delighted ; and if you say one word against the acting of Caesario and Amelrosa, I shall get in a passion. *Avis au lecteur.*"

The Oxford clique, who had been in Naples with Holland and Lady Webster, again re-assembled in force in Kensington during 1799, Morpeth, Boringdon, Lords Digby and Granville Leveson-Gower, and Beauclerk. Charles Ellis married Lord Hervey's daughter in 1798, and after his wedding came less often ; for the young lady's family, much to Lady Holland's feigned amusement though more probably to her secret annoyance, thought her unfit company for the bride. "Prudery," she wrote, "comes with an odd and questionable aspect from a Hervey." Holland's uncle, General Richard Fitzpatrick, was often with them. Charles James Fox, too, from time to time sought a bed at Holland House, chiefly on the evenings of the meetings of the Whig Club, for he was still practising secession and shunned politics. His absences from his paradise, St Anne's Hill, and from his beloved Elizabeth Armistead, to whom he had been married for several years, although no one as yet knew it, were short and few and far between. According to Lady Holland, the lady disapproved of any absence extending beyond the period which she had fixed.

Of the new-comers to the circle, James Hare was always a favoured guest. He was celebrated for his witty sayings ; but we have largely to take them on trust, for few have been handed down to us. Born in the same year as Fox, their friendship was of a most intimate nature. Yet an unfortunate similarity of taste for the gaming table led him to ruin as well, notwithstanding a rich marriage. Mercifully for his family, a friend stepped in at his death in 1804 and made provision for his children with a sum of £10,000.

Matthew Gregory Lewis was another friend who always

received a hearty welcome. He sat in Parliament at the time of which we speak, but had won fame in 1795 by the publication of a romantic novel, *Ambrosio, or the Monk*. Hence he derived the nickname of "Monk" by which he is best known. He followed this success up by a play, *The Castle Spectre*, produced at Drury Lane under Sheridan's management in 1797. Lady Holland told an amusing story arising out of it. Sheridan and Lewis had got into a dispute, which the latter would have decided by a wager. "I'll lay you the profits of my play," said he, " (which by-the-bye, Sheridan, you have not paid me)." "I do not like high wagers," said Sheridan, "but I'll lay you a small one, *the worth of it*." Lewis also wrote poetry; and his verses are known to have had a marked influence upon the early efforts of Sir Walter Scott.

Mrs Wyndham once asked Lewis how, with such a comic face, he could have such a horrid imagination. In fact one of his plays had to be withdrawn after the first night, because many of the audience were in hysterics at the fall of the curtain! Caroline Fox wrote of him at Bowood:—

The little Monk is with us at present, and, having no competitor to rival him in grace and gaiety of conversation, he is in high feather and good humour, but talks so much of Lady Douglas's lapdog, *Tiney*, and other subjects equally unintelligible and uninteresting to L^d L., that I am sometimes quite distressed. . . . But he is much pleasanter in the country than I should have expected, and has one merit which few have, that is, that time does not appear to hang heavy on his hands. He is never *désœuvré*, and never expects to be entertained in a morning.

Lewis had apparently a slighting way of speaking of people, which often got him into trouble, for Lady Holland in 1828 warned her son, Henry Fox, not to cultivate the same bad habit.

"Monk" Lewis succeeded to properties in the West Indies at the death of his father, who was a wealthy planter,

and took much interest in the welfare of the slaves employed upon them. He made two journeys to Jamaica, and died at sea of yellow fever when on his return in 1818. A picture of him hangs at Holland House, and is described by Faulkner as, "a striking resemblance, though unfinished and in a fancy dress." That author goes on to relate that it was painted by an amateur, which seems highly probable, as the portrait is a very poor one.

It is clear from Lady Holland's *Journal*, that Sheridan was looked on, to say the least, with some suspicion at Holland House during the spring of 1799. The case of Arthur O'Connor, the Irish rebel and editor of *The Press*, gave rise to an unfortunate incident. O'Connor was put on his trial at Maidstone, and was acquitted. After judgment was delivered, when he was to be rearrested on another charge, a fracas took place in the Court Room, which was said to have been engineered in order to effect the escape of the prisoner. He did indeed take to his heels, but was recaptured. Lord Thanet, who was present with Sheridan, Robert Ferguson and others, was convicted of aiding and abetting the attempted escape, and, although probably innocent of the charge, suffered imprisonment and fine. It was felt by many that Sheridan's method of giving his evidence when Thanet was arraigned largely conduced to this result; and it was further conjectured that he was himself in reality at the bottom of the whole plot, although in the result he was actually thanked by the Judge for his services in saving the situation. Mr Sichel in his *Life of Sheridan* discredits Lady Holland's belief in Sheridan's responsibility for Thanet's conviction, and points out that her friendship with him remained unbroken. But it is noteworthy, as it will be seen that we have reason to know, that he never once dined at Holland House in 1799,

although both his son Tom and his brother Charles were invited there. He had been constantly with the Hollands before the Thanet trial, and in the sequel was received back into favour in 1800.

Lord Thanet died in 1825. His wife, a Hungarian, died some years earlier ; and with her departed his one bulwark against his besetting sin, high play. He seldom attended Parliament in the later years of his life, and lived quietly in the country or abroad. But when in town he was constantly in Kensington to the end of his life. In 1810 he presented the Hollands with a replica of his picture by Northcote. "You will have to decide upon the size you wish it to be of," he wrote. "The robes you will probably have left out. Change anything you please. Indeed, if you have me sit again, I must obey your commands."

"Monk" Lewis wrote to Lady Holland in April 1803 :—

Tom has written a great part of a farce ; but he says it is not to come out, because his father has given his opinion, that, though the piece is very laughable, yet writing farces is *infra dignitatem*. This new idea of Tom's dignity is like Dr Johnson's being asked to write an epitaph on a tradesman's daughter. On enquiring what were her good qualities, he was told that she was remarkably affable to her inferiors. "That, Sir," said he, "is certainly highly praiseworthy ; but perhaps it may be difficult to discover who the lady's inferiors were."

Thomas Pelham compared Sheridan's powers of public speaking with Charles James Fox's in 1794.

Sheridan is unquestionably a great orator, but his eloquence is not convincing ; and it is very remarkable in him that though he charms and fascinates the House more than any man in it, no one gives credit to what he says or believes him to be in earnest. Fox, on the other hand, from the frankness and sincerity of his character has convinced more people than any man in Parliament.

Holland's own impression of Sheridan in 1803 may be



ENTRANCE TO THE GREAT STAIRCASE
From an engraving by J. Nash



quoted, "He may be a little slippery to his friends, provoke them, and do them mischief, but on the main point he will always be honest and even absurdly romantic to the public. He may dupe people, but he will never sell himself."

One further story of Sheridan, though of later date. Holland wrote to his sister in 1813 :—

Sheridan, in spite of his misfortunes (which in spite of his conduct and character I feel most acutely), looks well and has not lost his wit. On its being said yesterday that the Prince took to himself the credit for all these victories and successes, "Indeed," cried Sheridan, "I did not know *that*. I thought it had been the *harvest* he piqued himself upon." Alas, Alas, I am growing old, or the young writers are nothing like him and those I have known.

The names of Joseph Jekyll, Dumont, Lord John Townshend and Lord Robert Spencer appear at this time as visitors to Holland House, and further reference will be made to them in due course. In February, William Lamb, the future Prime Minister, first made his bow there. "Pleasant but supercilious," was his hostess's criticism, adding that he affected to hold Lords Granville Leveson-Gower, Morpeth and Boringdon cheap as Anti-Jacobins.

Lord and Lady Macartney also received a hearty welcome. He had recently returned from the Cape of Good Hope, where he had held the Governorship for two years. At the time of Macartney's first introduction to the Fox family, he travelled abroad with Stephen Fox, later second Lord Holland, and acted as his companion and bear-leader. A brother diplomat, Hugh Elliott, in mentioning Lord Whitworth's career as Ambassador in Russia, which came to a successful termination in 1800, wrote, "He has proved himself an able Plenipo, as much by the exertion of his physical as of his mental powers. Lord Macartney, I confess, once carried this system a little too far by fructifying one of Catherine's maids of honour, a *procédé* which the

Empress observed was either “*très gauche* or *très méchant de sa part*.” Yet Elliott went on to suggest that the success of Macartney’s career was largely due to this incident.

A head and shoulders of Macartney by Thomas Phillips, dated 1800, hangs in the *Journal Room*. Holland described him as “a chest-of-drawers of recollection,” and wrote to his sister in 1796 :—

As to Lord Macartney’s information no man ever disputed it ; and I think that he has as much good-humour and as much knowledge of the world as information, which three qualities are tolerable commodities to go to market with, whether one considers their rareness or their utility. His politics are far from being so unreasonable as many others ; and though he professes to expect a counter-revolution and a King in France every day, I attribute that opinion more to his propriety than his real judgment. I assure you that everyone that has seen him in Italy, English, Italian or French, are as much inclined to commend his *aimabilité* as myself. His taste as to the Arts does not deserve equal eulogiums. In that he is certainly as much of a Tartar as the Chinese dynasty.

Of the rising politicians, Charles Grey, subsequently Earl Grey of the Reform Bill, was often at Holland House at this time. He was an originator of the Whig secession movement, and, as one of those most affected, had become the most eager to escape from its chains.

Of George Tierney, Lady Holland wrote, “Tierney is a man everybody believes something against, but I never could discover upon what fact such a belief was founded, as he never committed any overt act.”¹ He was constantly dancing attendance on her, for he had fallen seriously in love, and carried his persecutions to such a pitch that she finally was obliged to warn him to mend his ways or keep away. He had not agreed with the policy of secession from Parliament, nor had he accepted it. As an

¹ *Journal*, i, 171.

independent Whig, therefore, he was able to make the most of his undeniable talents in debate, and thereby consolidated and improved his position.

A third was George Canning. He had some acquaintance with Holland at Eton and Oxford, although two or three years his senior. Originally a Whig by birth and persuasion, the excesses of the French Revolution had thrown him to the other camp, and by 1793 he was definitely enrolled under Pitt's banner. He was appointed Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, but was transferred to a Commissionership in the Board of Control in 1799. He had a hand in the *Microcosm* at Eton, and later contributed largely to the *Anti-Jacobin* or *Weekly Examiner*, a periodical in which the revolutionaries were ridiculed and reviled.¹ Many of his former friends looked upon him as a turncoat ; but Holland never took that line, even when faced with the open disapproval of his uncle, General Fitzpatrick, and of his aunt, Lady Ossory, who took quite the opposite view. To the latter he wrote in August 1793, from Madrid, that he had hardly expected that she would do him the injustice to suppose that he was "*absurd, affected and violent*" enough to break off his correspondence with Canning, because the latter had become a friend of Mr Pitt's party.

Even more instructive is Holland's letter to his sister, written a month or two later.

I cannot help being a little piqued with Canning, not for his conduct, but for not having written me word of the transaction. I must say my open and fair conduct with regard to him at least deserved that he should not at the very outset treat me as a person not interested in the event. I will tell you in a few words what has passed between us. You will, without my telling you, perceive that it is not a subject that either of us should like to be repeated to a third person, but you and I,

¹ His own copy, with MS. notes has quite recently been presented to the British Museum.

my dearest little sister, are the same. Intimate as I was with Canning at College, you may easily guess that the congeniality of our political sentiments was a great topick of conversation between us, and of course was the occasion of our foreseeing, in our minds at least, many delightful prospects of future union on that subject. When first I perceived his estrangement from Opposition, the childish motives of which you know, I asked Sheridan to contrive to let us two dine with him one day, because I did not know how far he was a Ministerialist and how far not. Do not imagine that this was a scheme between Sheridan and me to pump him. The way I asked was thus. Before Canning I said, "I wish we could all three dine together and talk Canning's politicks over." We did. Canning got excessively drunk, and told me many facts in that state which I never was acquainted with before; but as this was in a state of intoxication, I neither thought it proper nor generous for me to *open* the discussion again. When I took leave of him, before I left England for *Elsineur*, at Sheridan's, he took me aside and said in his warm and frank manner, "My dear H., whatever you hear about me, do not trust it till you hear it from myself, and I assure you that nothing shall be hidden from you." Upon this reopening of the subject, I thought it was to be permitted me to disburthen my mind also. I wrote my whole heart to him from *Elsineur*. I told him that I was sorry for his change of opinion, and told him what I thought absurd in his reasonings. I explained to him what had been my future hopes with regard to him, and how they were blasted. I told him, and I told him true, that tho' a *désagrément* politicks could never merely in themselves work a change in my sentiments towards him. In short, I open'd my whole heart to him, which, as it was in some measure ridiculous, was, I assure you, very painful. To this he sent an answer, the pleasure of receiving which will never, if years of unkindness (which God forbid) should succeed to this, be obliterated from my mind—a letter, which, tho' it contains a strange and eccentric system of politicks *nearer yours* than mine, contains such proofs of a warm heart and sincere friendship as well as of an able head and generous way of thinking, that

GEORGE CANNING

had there been wanting reasons before to endear Canning to me, this would not have failed to do it for life.¹

¹ This letter was sent many years after, in 1864, by Holland's son, General Charles Fox, to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, Canning's cousin. The latter's comments were as follows, "Canning's friend, Robert Smith, used to say he would have been perfect without his 'office eye,' Now the truth is, that, with strong motives of seeking and clinging to office, no man of the time proved himself more ready to sacrifice it to principle and personal attachment. In siding with Pitt, he only took the same line as Burke, without any desertion of friends or party. Whatever may have been his impulsive inclinations at Eton and Oxford, his first serious resolution in political life was taken on clear grounds, and maintained with consistency throughout. Your father's opinions of his talents and kind anticipation of his success, do as much to his (Lord Holland's) judgment, as the accompanying sentiments do honour to his heart."

CHAPTER IX

1799-1805

AT HOME AND ABROAD

TWO events of interest took place in the family during the spring of 1799. The christening of Lady Holland's baby son, who was fated to die on his father's birthday a year and a half later, was celebrated by an immense dinner of friends and relations. Next, a marriage was arranged between Mimi Ogilvie and Charles Beauclerk, both of whom were staying in the House at the time. Miss Ogilvie was the daughter of Holland's great-aunt, Emily, Duchess of Leinster, by her second marriage with William Ogilvie.

The month of May 1799 saw the commencement of a remarkable series of manuscript volumes which continue unbroken from that date until 1875. They are termed "Dinner Books," but they are more; for besides the names of the guests at Holland House, in London and later at Amptill, they contain rough notes of the journeys undertaken by the Hollands in the British Isles and on the Continent (often including the names of their guests when abroad), the visits which they paid, and entries of important events in the family. The earliest volume is chiefly in the hand-writing of Lady Holland, although entries were made by her husband as well. In 1806, however, Dr Allen began to take the matter in hand; but here and there jottings are to be found, by both Lord and Lady Holland.

The daily round of visitors continued. Lady Holland spoke of as many as fifty in a day. Miss Vernon and Caroline Fox were constantly with them, notwithstanding

MADAME DE COIGNY

the fact that the latter disliked many of her sister-in-law's friends. Lady Holland's mother, too, Lady Affleck, was often staying in the House with her husband.

Madame de Coigny, well known at the Court of Marie Antoinette for her unconventionalities and for her sprightly wit, was often dining at this period. She was wife of the Marquis de Coigny, formerly Louise Marie de Conflans d'Armentières. She was intensely clever ; but many people, we are told, found her affectation insufferable. Her *bon mots* were innumerable, and are to be found in every Memoir of her time. Lady Holland wrote in 1799, " When the Abbé St Foix was in England, he was in company with his brother, y^e Duke of Orleans (he was a natural brother), and the Prince of Wales. People were talking of the bad manners of Princes. Just then the *Abbé* was very noisy. Some one said, what is that noise ? ' O,' said M^{de} de Coigny, ' C'est M. l'Abbé qui se légitime.' " Mad me de Coigny spoke of Charles X's Court in Paris in 1830 as, "*Les Comédiens ambulants*," but added that it was lamentable how *les premières rôles* were filled. To the Prince Regent she once remarked, " C'est en vivant avec les Princes qu'on devient démocrate." And of Mary Fox, Lady Holland's daughter, who amid the gaieties of Paris in 1827 developed a stiff neck, she said, " Après avoir tourné la tête aux autres, elle ne peut tourner la sienne." Madame de Coigny died in 1832 of cholera, at the age of seventy-four.

Early in June, James Mackintosh made his first appearance at Holland House. We have already on more than one occasion drawn on his short history of the House. His introduction to the Hollands, or rather the prelude to it, must be related, in view of his subsequent intimacy with the family. Lady Holland had refused to see him two years before, when he was touting for an invitation, on account of the reputation which he had then gained of

being a furious Jacobin. He had written *Vindiciae Gallicae* in 1791, to confute Burke's writings on the French Revolution ; but after a chance meeting with the latter fell under his spell, and completely changed his opinions. The fact, however, that he had become a friend of Canning, seems to have been the key which finally gained him admission to the House.

Another constant visitor at this time was Dr Samuel Drew. He accompanied Georgina, Duchess of Devonshire, and her sister, Lady Duncannon, afterwards Countess of Bessborough, on a tour abroad in 1792 as their physician, and later became medical attendant to the Hollands. Some lines, which head a letter in his handwriting to Lady Webster at that time, are signed, "G. Devonshire fecit, H. Duncannon subscripsit."

This letter, lady, comes to you,
From idle, lazy little Drew.
For, tho' he would your favour sue
Yet proud of heart is little Drew.
And for his size I never knew
A tyrant that can match with Drew.

Whatever his medical knowledge, Drew seems to have been steeped in metaphysics and the natural sciences, and to have had a good knowledge of the Arts. Lord Holland wrote of him to his sister in 1795. "Drew is a physician, who, I believe, is yet living with Lady Bessborough. He is a very ingenious little man, but a great system-monger. He has a personal enmity to *Moses*, since that legislator does not support his opinion upon fishes. Indeed, I believe that *Moses* does stand in the way of all naturalists, and that the first step to the character of a *physician* is to cut his connection."

A letter from Dr Drew to Lady Holland in 1799 runs as follows :—

DISADVANTAGES OF KENSINGTON

I will suppose that a *Fancy* may run across my brain that I have important business to transact in London this winter : that in spite of the difficulty of moving me, I determine to set out on my travels at this inclement season of the year : nay further that both body and soul in their corporate capacity do safely arrive in Piccadilly. How am I then to dispose of myself with Prudence and Propriety ? At Holland House the cheer is excellent, the society delightful, the apartment pleasant and comfortable ; but then I have long ago observed that the servants in great families look with an evil eye on guests who do not bring their own servant with them. Now my Jacob is only fit to be exhibited among the wild beasts at Exeter Exchange. The hob nails he wears in his shoes would soon wear holes in your Ladyship's carpets. Besides the dog is a thief, a liar and a drunkard. No, Jacob, thou must remain in Somersetshire, and in my absence follow the plough, thy original calling. Again the walk from Kensington to Hyde Park Corner by day is pleasant enough, but the return by night, dark and dangerous, and infested by footpads ; and, as I am unable to scamper away so nimbly as some folks on a similar occasion, I might like the *pauvre Marcou* chance to be *bruized by a Bayonet* !

Another scientist of note who came to the House was Count von Rumford, or to call him by his original name, Sir Benjamin Thompson. An American by birth, he served on the side of the Mother Country in the war, and afterwards went to Bavaria, where the Elector gave him high office and a title. He was responsible for numerous inventions : and on his return to England, founded the Royal Institution in 1799, a scheme in which Lord Holland took a deep interest.

After spending two months of the autumn in Wales and the West of England, the Hollands remained in residence at Holland House throughout that winter of 1799. The first appearance of Lord King¹ in the family circle

¹ Peter, seventh Baron King (1766-1833).

should here be mentioned, for we have his portrait, a head and shoulders, by Hoppner. To quote Lady Holland, he held advanced views on the French situation. "His political principles," she wrote at this time, "are strongly anti-Government; his liking to Lord H. makes him act with him, tho' his opinion disposes him to exceed the limits Opposition have drawn to themselves. *Pour trancher le mot*, he is what is called a Jacobin."¹ A year later Holland and King on several occasions divided the House of Lords and found themselves alone in the lobby. Consequently, Hare remarked that Holland should say, "Ego et Rex meus." In later years Lord King became a recognised authority on political economy and finance. He kept up a close connection with Mrs Charles James Fox at St Anne's Hill after her husband's death, and was always a most welcome guest there.

Canning, Dugald Stewart, Dumont, M. de Calonne, Curran, Scarlett, Kinnauld and Thomas Erskine are names which occur more or less frequently during those months. The reference in Lady Holland's *Journal* to John Philpot Curran's first appearance in Kensington must be noted. "On Sunday, October 20th, Curran dined with us. He was intimidated at the sight of the tables as he passed through the rooms, and told Mr Tierney he feared he should not be able to speak. He kept his word, as he did not utter three sentences during dinner." This entry is of particular interest, for it seems to show two things, first, that guests were wont to pass *through* the Gilt Room on the first floor, where they were to dine, no doubt ascending by the Great Staircase, to the Green Drawing room, now the Sir Joshua Room beyond; and secondly that some evenings there were more than one table, although we learn from the Dinner Books that the party only consisted of ten people.

Lord Morpeth, who became sixth Earl of Carlisle in 1825,

¹ *Journal*, ii, 27.

LORD MORPETH

was a constant visitor during these years. His picture by Hoppner, a head and shoulders, painted in 1798, is one of several which we may almost term the Holland House series, conceived on the same lines and of the same size. He was a contemporary and devoted friend of Holland at Eton and at Oxford. "Oh! my sister," wrote Holland, "if ever there was a perfect good human, sure 'tis Morpeth. Blest with all the endowments of body and mind, he lives doing good to everyone in his power and hurt to no one. His genius is as much brighter as compared to others, as the sun is compared to other lights."

Lady Holland too was full of praise of his good qualities. "Lord Morpeth is perfect in person and manner; he has the *air noble* without haughtiness, and his mirth is cheerful, not boisterous. What Lord Wycombe said of him is very descriptive. 'He is an excellent specimen of aristocracy.' " His shyness and retiring disposition, however, proved a serious drawback to him in after-life, and militated against a successful public career. His marriage to Lady Georgiana Cavendish took place in 1801. Caroline Fox referred to her in 1799, in allusion to the Duchess of Devonshire's recent loss of one eye. "Is *Ly* Georgiana Cavendish brave enough to set the fashion of covering her right eye? If she will pay this compliment to her mother, I dare say no Miss in London will have a right eye seen six months after she is presented."

On Lord Holland's birthday, November 21, 1799, the following lines were found on his dressing-table, a tribute from his wife:—

When thus to hail thy natal day,
I strike my lyre and raise my song,
'Tis self that prompts my lips to say,
May heaven preserve my Henry long.

AT HOME AND ABROAD

Well may I breathe for him my prayer,
Which Fate with me so closely blends,
And weary heav'n with vows to spare
That life on which my own depends.

On reading the above General Fitzpatrick wrote :—

Apollo, who never his favour refuses
To mortals who love and are lov'd by the Muses,
In reward for the taste for the nine you have shewn,
Has created a tenth and has made her your own.

An event occurred on June 4, 1800, which was fraught with much consequence to all concerned. Sir Godfrey Webster was found dead in his drawing-room in Tenterden Street with a pistol beside him—the result of heavy losses at play. This was by no means his first attempt to end his life. No will since one of 1786 could be found, and by that everything was left in the hands of his executors, and their consent was required for the smallest detail. Unfortunately for Lady Holland, one of these, Sir Godfrey's brother-in-law, Thomas Chaplin, seemed prepared to go any length to make things as unpleasant as possible. He put forward an affidavit, citing Lady Holland's letters about the Harriet Webster episode. He maintained that the effect of this duplicity on Sir Godfrey had been such, that he constantly besought him (Chaplin) to take charge of the children, and instructed him never to allow the girl to see her mother. The case was discussed in private on July 13, 1801, in the Lord Chancellor's room. Counsel for Lady Holland were Sir Arthur Piggot and Sir Samuel Romilly, who put forward very strongly the importance to the children of a parent's care. Lord Eldon, who had only succeeded Lord Loughborough as Lord Chancellor a month or two before, reserved his decision, which proved to be unfavourable to Lady Holland's claims : for he seems to have taken the view that the testator's wishes should be

respected. Consequently, Chaplin retained the children : and only allowed Lady Holland to communicate with them through him. Lord Egremont, however, who had been intimate with the dead Baronet, stepped into the breach, and did much to put things on an easier footing. He often invited the boys to stay with him, and gave Lady Holland constant news of their well-being. The latter now resumed possession of her fortune, while Holland in consequence added the surname of Vassall in future to his own.

Holland spoke from time to time in the course of the year 1800 in the House of Lords, with varying success, according to his own accounts. On one occasion, he put down a motion for an Inquiry into the ill-success of the recent military expedition into Holland. But on the previous day, Sheridan had made a similar motion in the other House, and forestalled Holland by making use of the whole of the latter's notes and material, which had been too confidingly communicated to him.¹ Nor was he in the least ashamed, when Holland subsequently reproached him in the lobby of the House. "Aye," said he, "I have such a good memory."

On another occasion, Holland moved a motion in favour of the removal of Catholic disabilities. He tells us ² that he did so without previous consultation either with the Catholics or with his friends ; and that this was in fact the first step taken in that House towards their final emancipation in 1829. On this rock the Government split in 1801. Pitt was fully prepared to give the Catholics some relief, in return for their assistance at the time of the Union of Ireland with England. But King George, egged on by the then Chancellor, Lord Loughborough, was adamant, and fretted himself into a fresh attack of madness. Pitt resigned ; and the government of the country was handed over to the more subservient Addington.

¹ *Whig Party*, i, 153.

² *Ibid.*, i, 161.

In May, a large party assembled to meet the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Sussex. The Duke of Bedford, and his brother and sister-in-law Lord and Lady John Russell, Lady Plymouth, Lord and Lady Bessborough, Lords Macartney, Morpeth and Lorne, Admiral Payne and others. Lords Boringdon and Digby, Sir Philip Francis, and Lords Archibald Hamilton and Granville Leveson-Gower, also dined constantly.

An expedition to the Northern districts of Germany occupied the latter part of that summer. The family returned in October. A state of war then existed on the Continent ; and journeys of this kind were not unattended with risk, even though peace might have been said to be within sight. Holland had obtained passports through the French Ministers in Berlin and Dresden ; and their travels were safely brought to a conclusion without any untoward adventure. The following lines had been sent to Lady Holland on leaving the country :—

Eliza, quitting Albion's shores
Thro' distant realms to roam,
Demands, to sooth the parting hour,
"What can I send you home?"

No toys we ask, nor Dresden dishes,
Nor reams of Leipsic learning.
Oh ! send to meet our utmost wishes,
The news of your returning.

By the commencement of the year 1801, secession from Parliament had more or less broken down. Fox, however, as we have seen, was loath to break away from a life of peace and happiness at St Anne's Hill, while the Duke of Bedford was seemingly unable to make up his mind whether to attend or not. The measure, as was natural, had left its mark on the Party. Grey and Tierney almost came to blows, early in the year, in Lady Holland's drawing-room,

on the subject of Fox's attendance in the House of Commons.¹ The fact that guilty consciences often beget touchiness may have been the origin of this unseemly brawl ; while Sheridan's mischief-making propensities seem to have fanned the spark into flame, by repeating and adding to a conversation which took place when many of those present were drunk.

During the next two months the names occur constantly of Hare, General Fitzpatrick, William and Frederic Lamb, Lord Robert Spencer, the Bobus Smiths and Lord Darnley, whose picture by Hoppner hangs in the *Journal Room*. Distinguished foreigners were represented by Calonne, the Comte de Polignac and Comte Jules de Polignac. In January 1801, the Hollands had taken a small house in Stratton Street, in order to avoid the long drive back to Holland House when either business or pleasure kept them late in town.

The autumn of 1801 was spent largely at Worthing and Brighton. The Hollands took a house in October in Albemarle Street for a few months, and moved backwards and forwards from Kensington. Charles James Fox on several occasions stayed at Holland House, or called for supper. Lord Lauderdale also ; while the names of Payne Knight, Sergeant Lens, Mr and Lady Louisa Conolly, and the Tierneys appear prominently. Lally Tollendal dined in April, Molé and his wife in May, and in June the Duke of Orleans, later King Louis Philippe, with the Duc de Montpensier.

The Hollands' baby boy died, as we have seen, in November 1800 ; but another son, Henry Edward, subsequently fourth and last Lord Holland, was born on March 7, 1802. Charles, the eldest, was desperately ill all that winter, under the care of Dr Drew, and so serious was his condition, that it was decided that the best hope of saving his life

¹ *Journal*, ii, 137.

was to pass the next cold season abroad. Consequently, early in July 1802, the Hollands again set out on their travels, taking both children with them. The party was augmented by William Howard, a brother of Lord Morpeth, aged twenty, and the Rev. Matthew Marsh, a friend of the Carlisle family, who through them had become very intimate with the Hollands. Dr Drew, who had accompanied them in 1800, was now in failing health, and Dr John Allen took his place.

It may be permissible to refer to the occasion of Allen's first arrival at Holland House as one of the red-letter days in its annals. On the evening of June 20, 1802, he appeared in time to sup and sleep, shepherded by Lord Lauderdale; and from that time onwards until his death he may have been said to be part and parcel of the House and of the lives, public, private and domestic, of its inmates. Sydney Smith first recommended him to Holland. Lord Lauderdale had also mentioned his name, but said that he thought it unlikely that Allen would accept the post, on account of the lectures in physiology which he was then delivering in Edinburgh. "It is hardly possible," he wrote, "to say too much in his praise. With all his knowledge he is perfectly unassuming, and his manners much more like those of a gentleman than what men of genius and talents in his situation usually possess. Perhaps the profession he has chosen is the only one for which I should doubt him being thoroughly fitted. He is extremely short-sighted, which is bad for operating . . ." In another letter to Lady Holland, Lauderdale wrote, "Your luck in getting Allen is something more extraordinary than if you had won £20,000 in Mr Addington's 3 lotteries."

The appointment came about in this way. Holland had written to Sydney Smith, whose name first appears in the



HOLLAND HOUSE, 1751

South perspective, from an aquatint by John Varsity



Dinner Books in June 1799, as soon as their excursion abroad in 1802 was finally decided upon, to ask if he could recommend him any clever young Scottish medical man to accompany them. Smith was well acquainted with Allen. The latter had taken the M.D. degree in the University of Edinburgh in 1791 at the age of twenty, but had soon discovered to his cost the difficulty of establishing anything in the nature of a regular practice. His father James Allen, a writer of the signet and the owner of a small property, Redfoord, in the parish of Colinton, had some years before been adjudged a bankrupt ; but the son had been enabled to obtain a good education by the kindness of his mother's relations, and that of her second husband, Mr Cleghorn.

The preliminary arrangements for Allen's engagement all passed through Sydney Smith's hands ; and his personal letter of introduction, which he handed to the young man on his departure from Edinburgh, was characteristic :—

The bearer of this note is Mr Allen, of whom I have said so much already that it is superfluous to say any more.

That he is a very sensible man you cannot long be ignorant, tho' I sincerely hope you may that he is a very skilful physician.

You will speedily perceive that my friend Mr Allen (who has passed his life in this monastery of infidels) has not acquired that species of politeness which consists in attitudes and flexibilities, but he is civil, unaffected and good-natur'd.

What to compare his French to, I know not. I never heard a sound so dreadful.

Allen's heart, however, was not really in his profession ; and we shall see that he took early steps to retire from practice. He was far more interested in the literature of the ages than in the pursuit of surgery or medicine. Philosophy, metaphysics, and above all historical research, claimed his time and attention. He commenced life as an ardent admirer of the French Revolution, but a more extended knowledge of the world completely altered his

outlook on life. During his stay in Edinburgh he posed as a political reformer ; but so changed were his sentiments later in life, that at the period of Lord Grey's Reform Bill he looked upon many of those amendments to the electoral system with the greatest doubt and trepidation.

Lord Brougham gives a charming and extended sketch of Allen's character in his *Statesmen of the time of George III* : and he had ample means of knowing, for Allen was in close relations with the future Lord Chancellor, when the latter was making his name in Opposition, after 1807, as a Whig pamphleteer. "The oldest friend I now had in the world," wrote Brougham at the time of Allen's death in 1843. "Fifty years friendship without a shade or cloud is a thing not often granted to any one." We find amongst Allen's papers three long letters from Brougham, written in 1799 and the following year, describing his adventures amongst the Scottish Islands and on the Continent.

A visit which Allen made to his old home in 1816 or 1817, and the reflections thereby occasioned, show clearly the path along which his early predilections might have led him.

I went afterwards to see my old habitation at Redfoord, and was pleased to find the garden exactly as we had left it in 1782, the same clipped hedges, and even the same onion beds which I remember 30 years ago. The house is improved ; but the thickets, the stream and even the gravel walks, are exactly as I remember them when a child. How different my conduct would have been, and consequently how different my fate, if that little place had not been sold in my minority. It is now worth about £500 a year. Had I possessed it when 21, with the little Mrs Cleghorn still enjoys at Colinton, I should have given up medicine which I never liked, studied law, and been an Advocate at the Scotch Bar. But in return I should have had a laborious instead of an idle life, and never had any other society but that of Edinburgh.

DR JOHN ALLEN

Nothing could have proved a greater or more immediate success than Allen's association with his new employers. "Apropos of Mr Allen," wrote Lady Holland to her sister-in-law from Paris, "do convey to Mr S. Smith how much we like him. He is a very excellent companion, full of information and modesty." And again on October 31 from Narbonne, "He is a most eager traveller, and as I before said, a very pleasant companion, having a most inexhaustible stock of good temper and patience."

For the best account, however, of Allen in those early days, we have to thank the Hollands' eldest son, Charles Richard Fox, written in 1849 to Benjamin Thorpe, the Anglo-Saxon scholar.

You asked me for any memoranda or notices I may be able to give you regarding my kind old friend John Allen. I only wish that I had the power and the time to give you a sketch of his life and of his character, but I fear that I am not able to do him justice. You, I believe, knew him quite well enough to be able to give your readers a faithful idea of his great and varied attainments as well as the honest, though peculiar, points of his character. I will briefly state some of my recollections of him.

I first remember, and never shall forget John Allen when he came to Holland House in 1802, just before we all went to France and Spain for three years. He was a stout, strong man, with a very large head, broad face, enormous round silver spectacles on his nose, and with the thickest legs I ever remember. His accent Scotch, his manner eager but extremely good-natured. All this made a great impression on me as a boy of six years old. Our journey through France and to Valencia was long and very slow. The late John Kemble and Sir F. Ponsonby, then a young officer on leave from the 10th L^t Dragoons, were with us. Allen used to be constantly reading, but whilst the horses were changing he used to walk on at a most rapid pace, and frequently arrived at the next

post before the large cortège of three large English carriages could overtake him, which to prevent their doing he would sometimes run—an operation which was a great amusement for me, as though active and buoyant his gait was most extraordinary, and he used to move from side to side in running in a manner not a little ridiculous. In Spain he studied with great assiduity, and made himself master of the early Constitution of that interesting country, more, I believe, than any foreigner of his time, as his articles in the *Edinburgh* on that subject fully prove. He had ample opportunities also of assisting his studies by conversation with eminent and learned Spaniards during the year we spent at Madrid. . . .

We returned to England in 1805. Allen was always occupied with writing, and soon after produced the Historical portion for the *Annual Register* of 1806–7, and also several articles in the *Edinburgh Review*, and a short Memoir of Mr Fox.

Allen continued to live at Holland House, till about 1810 he became Warden of Dulwich College, where he then occasionally went, and where his zeal for the good of the College and his judicious management of it when he subsequently became Master, and his attention to the schools and charities, will cause his memory to be long remembered with affection and gratitude.

His opinions were essentially Republican. He had early imbibed them, and was an ardent admirer of the early proceedings in France during the first Revolution. Although his kind disposition revolted at the horrors and cruelties that ensued, he still had hopes of a return to honest and philanthropic Republican Gov^t, and was always indignant at the idea of reaction, and at the pretence made for arbitrary measures, that the Republicans must be such as Marat and Robespierre. It was not till Napoleon assumed the Imperial Crown that these hopes were blasted ; and great was his despair and indignation when he heard of that event. The restoration of the Bourbons in 1814, the firm tenure of office in England of the Ultra Tories of that day, were to him as a close of all his political hopes and dreams ; and from that time, he seldom devoted time to modern politicks, and almost exclusively

gave his attention to the early history of our Constitution and to the Anglo-Saxon language and history. Though so eager a Republican in theory, he was the most liberal of men towards those of all opinions, when he considered them to be honest in their professions. Violent often in language, and uttering the most terrific expressions towards those he believed to be either hypocrites or cruel or bigoted, he was in deeds the most gentle of all men. A stranger hearing him talk of the punishments he wd award to one suspected of carrying on the Slave Trade, or of any falsehood, or of ill treatment of children especially, would imagine him to have been of the most vindictive disposition, but when he had to act he was most calm and as kind hearted. . . .

I have thus written down hastily what I remember of my dear old friend, and hope it may prove of use to you. At all events I am happy to be able to give my testimony to the good and honest qualities of John Allen, who, through nearly all my life until his death, was kind and friendly and useful to me, and who was a man of most remarkable powers of mind and tenacity of attention and memory.

Owing to the conclusion of the Peace of Amiens on March 25, 1802, Paris that summer and autumn was full of English. The Hollands remained there for over two months, and were joined in August by Charles James Fox accompanied by his wife—for his marriage to Mrs Armistead seven years before was now for the first time revealed. The news came as a complete surprise to the younger members of the family, who could not fathom the reason why the matter had so long been kept secret. On the other hand, his brother, General Henry Edward Fox, wrote that he had long suspected something of the kind, and believed that Mrs Fox had kept it from the world on account of money affairs. Lord Robert Spencer was the first person to be told.¹ It appears, from what Fox said to him on that occasion, that Mrs Armistead had taken

¹ *Correspondence of Lord Granville Leveson-Gower*, i, 344.

into her head that her lover was likely to desert her and to marry Miss Fanny Bouverie. There had never been the smallest foundation for her jealousy ; but Fox thought that marriage was the kindest way to set her mind at ease, and therefore suggested it. Mrs Fox herself insisted that the matter should remain a secret.

Elizabeth Fox had for many years passed under the name of Mrs Armistead (or Armstead), though it seems doubtful if the gentleman whose name she nominally bore ever existed. In her marriage certificate she signed herself, "Elizabeth B. Cane." Born about 1750, she is said to have been the daughter of a Methodist shoemaker, but as her Diary, which commences at her husband's death, and with which we shall deal later, very naturally makes no reference to her early surroundings, it is practically impossible to arrive at the truth. The fact, however, that her early life was spent in depraved and dissolute surroundings cannot be disputed. Lord Egremont, in an endeavour undertaken at Holland's request in 1832 to trace the commencement of Charles James Fox's friendship with Lord Bolingbroke, mentioned that the latter first raised Mrs Armistead from the lower ranks of her profession and introduced her into better company. Egremont must have known the whole story, for he was very intimate with Bolingbroke, with Lord John Townshend, and also with Lord Derby, whose mistress Mrs Armistead became about the year 1778. She was intimate with the Prince of Wales in 1782 ; but during the year 1783 finally linked her fortunes with those of Fox. From that moment her one and only thought was how best to minister to him during his lifetime with the tenderest adoration, and to uphold his memory after he was dead. Lord Egremont wrote in 1832, "Mrs Fox is a very kindhearted woman and now very religious. And she seems to have taken the good qualities of our God Almighty without his atrocious

ones, by shewing mercy unto the third and fourth generation of, not quite, thousands of those who have loved her and kept her commandment."

After twelve years of complete happiness, chiefly spent at St Anne's Hill, near Chertsey, Fox and Mrs Armistead were married on September 28, 1795, at Wyton Church, near Huntingdon. The parson, J. Pery, was a friend of the bride ; and the secret was never divulged.

"Day of happiness, day of joy, Liz and Kins will never repent," Fox wrote on the anniversary, in a rough diary of his trip abroad in 1802. Two sets of verses also, both written on Fox's birthdays, testify to the blissful existence which that pair of true lovers had continued to enjoy.

On my Birthday, 1799.

Of years I have now half a century past,
Yet not one of the fifty so blest as the last.
How it chances my troubles thus daily should cease,
And Happiness still with my years should increase,
This defiance of Nature's more general laws,
You alone can explain who alone are the cause.

C. J. F.

And again on January 24, 1801 :—

Some verses Bess says she must have for this morn,
Because 'tis the day on which Darling was born.
Let her make them herself then, for I in the year
Some others can find more deservedly dear.
Ah ! the gift of this Day's in comparison small,
While that which first gave me her love gave me all.

C. J. F.

Mrs Fox told Caroline Fox many years later, that she resided for three weeks at Mr Pery's parsonage to qualify herself before the marriage : and always recalled with gratitude the kindness of Lady Elizabeth Whitbread, who invited her to breakfast, when Fox called on her husband

in the country, of course knowing nothing of the ceremony. It has been stated that St Anne's Hill belonged to her. This is probably incorrect ; though, it is true, she may have held a lease of it. Lady Sarah Napier, writing in 1784, stated that Fox was lamenting the want of £2000, wherewith to buy " the house at St Anne's Hill which he longs for."¹

Up to the time of the declaration of the marriage there had been little intimacy between Mrs Armistead and the Foxes—none at all probably in the case of the ladies. Hence Lady Holland's biassed and ill-natured description of her in 1797² was no doubt largely the result of hearsay, and the reflection of a natural feeling of resentment in the family that so talented and delightful a man should be so lost to them and to society in general. It is interesting, therefore, to read a passage in a letter from her to Caroline Fox, dated December 10, 1802, from Saria, in Spain. A few weeks of intimate intercourse in Paris had evidently worked wonders. " I am truly pleased," she wrote, " at your intention of seeing your new aunt. For his sake you will like and esteem her. She is always occupied in attending to his comforts, and that absorbs a thousand little blemishes. To us the *declaration* will be productive of much real enjoyment, as it will bring us all together without restraint. Her manners and conversation are as correct as possible. The only ridicule she has arises from his ardent love and her short memory, which dispose her to forget the half-century and upwards which has rolled over her head ; but her temper and disposition are as good as any Fox of you all."

The Foxes had left England on July 29, with his secretary John Bernard Trotter and Mr St John. After a tour of

¹ *Lady Sarah Lennox*, ii, 49.

² *Journal*, i, 149.

FOX AND NAPOLEON

the Low Countries, which extended as far north as Amsterdam, their party reached Paris on August 19. General Fitzpatrick also had arrived there on the 17th. The chief reason for the visit was to enable Fox to collect certain material for his *History of the Reign of James II* which was only to be found in the *Archives* in the French Capital. Trotter had been brought to assist in the work of transcription. On September 2, Fox and Fitzpatrick were presented to the First Consul, and Fox afterwards dined with him. The entry in his Diary reads, "Near 200 people, very magnif. Long talk with Bony; he talked almost all. was presented to M^{me}. Liked her very much."

Lady Holland wrote an account of the presentation to her sister-in-law :—

Yesterday your uncle was received by Bonaparte in the most distinguished manner. He addressed him in a long set speech which he had learnt by heart, and appeared extremely nervous when he delivered it; the purport was of course highly complimentary. He told him he addressed him as *the greatest man of one of the greatest countries in the world*. After this speech, he went on and spoke to the other foreigners. He sent a most flattering message to your uncle to invite him to dinner, letting it however be well understood that it was a deviation from the rule (there are several rules established since the *Senatus Consultus*.)¹ He then returned to him, which is also a thing he never does, asked him if he was a *Botaniste*, to which he replied that he did not understand it scientifically. "Je le crois bien, vous avez une imagination trop grande," or some such answer, but they differ. Some say he said, "Vous avez trop d'imagination." The other reading is as I first gave it. He accordingly dined, as did your Brother (he by a regular invitation). As soon as the dinner, which was a most sumptuous feast, was over, the great man sought out the other great man, and they past several hours *discutant* quite

¹ This particular rule was, that foreigners should only be invited on the Court day subsequent to their presentation.

so, even with warmth. M^{de} B. also overcame him with civilities. She insisted upon his sending her some plants from St Ann's Hill. I am going to Madame the day after tomorrow. . . .

In the conversation between the great men many topicks were discussed. B. spoke of the Infernal Machine as a project of the B. of Arras and Georges, quite as a matter allowed, and added that *he* believed Windham knew of it, and that the whole was sanctioned by Government. Your uncle with his wonted liberality exculpated both W. and y^e Ministers, adding that he was persuaded that no such proceeding could be countenanced in England. . . .

The expense in dress surpasses all credibility. A very moderate dress costs 4 or 5 *hundred* louis. M^{de} de Murat's gown at the *Cercle* cost 1100 and £50 pounds sterling. I happen to know that as a fact. A morning gown, and not a costly one, 60 louis, without sleeves : a veil from 180 to 2 and 3 hundred louis. Were I to tell you about M^{de} B. expense, you would think I was telling enormous fibs.

A paragraph in a short diary kept by General Fitzpatrick may also be quoted. The suggestion of a species of "League of Nations" is interesting :—

The speech of Bonaparte to Mr Fox was very different from what those who stood near them reported it to be. It was very flattering to him personally on the score of his distinguished talents. The chief feature of this speech was an idea he expressed of the world's being divided into two nations, the Eastern and the Western : that the laws, manners, customs and religions of each should be held sacred and respected, and supported by all Governments : and that whoever attempted, to disturb any of them should be considered as an instigator of Civil War. After the dinner he conversed, or rather (as F. told me) talked to him upon all subjects. Complained bitterly of the licence and scurrility of our newspapers, which he said, however harmless their effects might be in England, might in France occasion seditions and Civil Wars, by making it necessary in case of tumults to have recourse to military

interference. He stated that the situation and policy of France made it necessary to maintain large armies.

The Hollands had found many old friends upon their arrival in Paris. Lafayette, Talleyrand, Madame de Flahault, who shortly afterwards married M. de Souza the Portuguese Minister in Paris, Madame de Coigny, M. de Jaucourt, Gallois, Morellet, Rumford, Calonne and Bertrand, were amongst the number. They made also a host of new acquaintances. They had seen the First Consul at a parade on the day after their arrival, but only in the distance. Lady Holland then likened him to "Kemble in miniature." They dined on numerous occasions with Talleyrand at Neuilly, where he was living at the time with Madame Grand, whom he married in September. "Talleyrand, my old friend," Holland wrote to his uncle, Lord Upper Ossory, "has been very kind to me, and with all his faults, it is with no little satisfaction that I find he has, at the same time that he has feathered his own nest, been instrumental in at least very often saving others, in benefiting his country and restoring *peace*."

Early in August an unfounded report got abroad in Paris that Holland had fought a duel; nor was it possible to trace the source from whence it sprang. It appeared to be an invention of the newspapers from beginning to end, for no Englishman had been involved in any situation of that kind. Talleyrand said that it was fortunate for such an ideal adversary that he had not been named, for it would have been sufficient to destroy any man's reputation to suppose that he could offend or be offended with such a man as "le petit Holland." Lady Holland wrote of Madame de Flahault in the same letter that she had seen her several times. "Her conversation is agreeable, but what Narbonne says of it is true. It chiefly consists in narrating the good things she said the day before, and not composed of those she is actually saying."

It was not until a few days before the advent of his uncle that Holland was presented to Napoleon. He had two opportunities of speaking to the great man. Once he stood next to him in the Circle, when the Consulship was conferred on him for life. Napoleon said very little to him, and scarcely more when he dined on September 2, in company with his uncle.¹ Holland wrote to Lord Upper Ossory, after his first presentation, "Bonaparte has a pleasanter countenance, tho' less remarkable, than his pictures and busts. He said something civil to me, and bade Francis, 'Ne pas écouter ce Windham, qui vouloit rallumer la guerre.'" He continued :—

Bonaparte seems to govern entirely by himself, and considers his Ministers and men of business merely as *clerks*. He is undoubtedly impatient of contradiction, to a degree amounting not only to a blemish in his moral character, but to a weakness in his understanding. In every other respect, however little one may approve, every one must admire him. The Republicans who raised him, and the friends of rational liberty who first produced and afterwards suffered by the Revolution, are clearly the two descriptions of persons most dreaded and disliked by the Consul. He adopts the principles of the old Government in many respects, but he certainly has the advantage of not having his power necessarily connected with the restoration of feudal laws and all the abuses which they had produced in a state of society so unlike that in which they originated.

Holland wrote to Lady Upper Ossory, too, of a visit to Malmaison :—

We have today seen two sights of a very different sort—La Malmaison magnificently and beautifully furnished by Mad^{me} Bonaparte—and the Abbé Sièyes, who is indeed magnificently provided for by her husband, and as brilliant in his conversation as her house in its furniture, though on your side of

¹ *Foreign Reminiscences*, p. 191.

NAPOLÉON'S COURT

the water he is suspected of having been employed in pulling down more than raising edifices of any kind. At La Malmaison, as at most French houses, the bed is the most beautiful piece of furniture, but great pains is taken to inform you of another circumstance not so common in a French ménage, viz., that it receives the Consul and his wife every night, and that there is no separate bed at all for him. One occasion for a separate bed would, I believe, give him great satisfaction, and might possibly alter the destinies of the country very materially, but such an event is despaired of by him, and by those who are more ardent for the restoration of hereditary power than that of any particular family. He is very like his pictures, but with lighter hair and a milder countenance. He seems very conversible, and not only very much pleased with his situation, but at no pains to conceal that he is so. Joseph Bonaparte, his elder brother, of whom most people speak well, is married to a *Marseillois* merchant's daughter. Her sister was the first person who inspired the present First Consul with the *belle passion*. As he does nothing by halves, he was most desperately in love ; but the family was determined to have no more Bonapartes, of which name they said they had enough, and prevented the match. How strange it must appear to her, who is, I believe, G^l Bernadotte's wife, to reflect how near she was to so different a destiny ; though perhaps had he married her his destiny would have been very different too. His audience is very fully attended, but the number of Generals, and the great likeness of the Senators', Legislators' and Tribunes' uniforms to military uniforms, gives it the appearance of a military ceremony more than of a Court. When the Ladies appear, as they do at the *Cercle*, there are card tables and a formal circle, but several beautiful women and an expense, a display and a taste in dress, which it is difficult to describe, and which it is as well that our ladies in London should be as ignorant of as they are. The sums expended on dress are quite incredible, and the richness of the shops in those articles, as well as in furniture, exceeds not only all description we have ever heard in England but anything the most expensive persons there can imagine.

Lady Holland's audience with the great man did not take place until September 5¹; and she might well have left Paris without a visit to the Tuileries, had their visit not been prolonged to await the arrival of the Foxes. Three messages from Madame Bonaparte had, owing to some strange mistakes, miscarried.

I was presented last Sunday to the Consul and Madame, they were both very gracious. Her figure and *tournure* are perfect, her taste in dress exquisite, but her face! ghastly, deep furrows on each side of her mouth, fallen in cheeks, shocking, disgusting, a worn-out hag, prematurely gone, as she is not above 40 years old. His head is out of proportion, being too large for his figure. It is well shaped; his ears are very neatly shaped and small, his teeth fine. The gracious smile he puts on is not in unison with the upper part of his face: that is penetrating, severe and unbending. The expression of the smile is very like L^d Malmesbury and D^r Turton.

The Hollands left Paris on September 20, 1802, for their tour in Spain, and did not return to England until May 1805. During those years the old House went through the most serious crisis in its existence, and was in danger of at least partial demolition.

Trouble first appeared at the end of 1802 in the *Library*, in the west wing. Bonaiuti, an Italian factotum, who later acted as librarian, had been left in charge of the House and gardens, and reported to Caroline Fox that one of the hearths had begun to move, and that finally it had stood itself upright! The adjacent end of the House was promptly propped with wooden supports, and equilibrium was thereby temporarily restored; although further cracks commenced to show a year later. The East wing, in which were Lady Holland's rooms and the nurseries, seemed as

¹ An entry in Charles James Fox's *Diary* of that date runs, "Sad disappointment. Wife's dress did not come in time for her to be presented."

bad, if not worse ; for rents began to appear in the fabric from top to bottom. A hot summer may have accounted to some extent for these sudden disturbances : and had the owner been inhabiting the mansion instead of gallivanting in Spain, far less would probably have been heard of the danger. But, as it was, Bonaiuti croaked and fussed about "*i nostri* cracks," as he called them, to such an extent, that none of Holland's relations nor friends would take the responsibility of ordering what should be done. Everyone wrote advice to the absentees. Lord Lansdown and Lord Upper Ossory thought the family pride should be sunk, the House abandoned, and the estate developed for building purposes. Sir Gilbert Affleck said that the cheapest thing to do was to pull down the wings, and to rebuild them. No fears were expressed about the stability of the main centre block, and in this, Wyatt, who was called in in 1804, concurred. He seemed to have advised the demolition of the wings and the erection of new ones at a cost of £3000 to £4000 ; but mercifully he was not allowed to have his way.

Caroline Fox seems to have kept her head better than anyone, backed up by Mr Moore, the family man of business. She wrote on more than one occasion that she believed that Bonaiuti's gloomy forebodings were exaggerations and fantasies ; and that they would yet see many more happy days at Holland House, when her brother came home. More to the point, she probably put her hand on the real cause of the mischief, for, writing in 1804, she said, "The gravel walks in the Fountain Garden are wretchedly wet, and account to some degree for the insecurity of the building. Surely this draining business admits of no delay."

Yet in reality the suggestion which finally solved the problem was due to a neighbour, a certain Mr Macpherson, a friend of General Henry Edward Fox. "He affirms,"

wrote Caroline Fox, "that your foundations will never be secure till after you alter the course of the drains from the top of the hill behind the house, which now, following the course of the ground, run down the slope and underneath the house : that these might be turned at the moderate expense of 20 guineas, and your foundations be thereby rendered perfectly secure. But no time is to be lost, for every day they remain in their present direction they will undermine the building and make the difficulty of repairing it greater."

Certain it is, that at this or some subsequent period, the springs, which still rise on the hill, were collected on the slope of the North Lawn in a big drain, and were diverted from the mansion. And it may be added that in recent efforts to repair the ravages of time since the Great War, little fault has been found with the foundations. They at least remain reasonably firm and secure.

CHAPTER X

1805-1807

WHIG CELEBRITIES

THE Hollands reached England early in May 1805. Holland had attempted to get leave to travel home through France, but even the good offices of Talleyrand proved powerless to secure an affirmative answer to his request. He speeded up their departure from Lisbon at the request of his uncle, Charles James Fox, in order to be present at the debates on the Roman Catholic disabilities, which were fixed in both Houses for May 10.¹ He and Lady Holland re-entered the "venerable walls" of Holland House on May 6. Yet notwithstanding a warm greeting from friends and relations, the latter wrote, "A return to this country always damps my spirits."²

Holland arrived just too late to see Lord Lansdown, who had been practically unconscious for two days, and died early on May 7. He had been ailing, after a slight seizure a year earlier : and during the last month or two of his life had steadily grown worse. Yet those final weeks were not without their gratifications. Wycombe had recently commenced to take a more lively interest in Bowood ; and his father was thereby encouraged to consider extensive alterations to that house. Better still, in April, on the occasion of a vote of censure on Lord Melville, his younger son, Lord Henry Petty, who had entered Parliament two years before, at the age of twenty-three, showed unsuspected

¹ *Memorials and Correspondence*, iv, 75, *et seq.*

² *Lady Holland's Spanish Journal*, p. 187.

promise of great things to come in an outstanding speech. Caroline Fox may be quoted :—

As to Petty himself, he exceeded the most sanguine expectations of his friends, and produced an effect that so young a man, even Pitt himself, was hardly recollected to have done. The subject for some time so entirely got the better of the natural diffidence of his manner, that he went on for a considerable time with a clearness of voice, an energy of manner, and strength of argument, that quite astonished his hearers ; and when towards the close of his speech his voice relapsed into its usual tremulousness and modesty of tone, instead of lessening, they say it added to the effect of the former part. My uncle Charles and Mr Grey, who are both as partial to him as possible, say they had no idea of the extent of his powers and the clearness of his voice till that night. My uncle Charles indeed did that night, as he has always done before, encourage him in every possible way : and he drew a delightful parallel between himself, Petty and Pitt, of which the *Morning Chronicle* gives no account at all. Indeed, that paper has been very deficient all this year, and very inferior to what it used to be in giving the debates, unluckily for those who are absent.

It cannot have failed to be a matter of deep regret to Holland to have returned too late to find Lansdown alive ; more especially as the latter had been eagerly looking forward to his return. A close bond of sympathy had grown up between them, notwithstanding the disparity in their years ; and one sentence in the old statesman's last letter to Holland, dictated in January 1805, bore witness to his affection for his nephew and niece. " There is one thing," he wrote, " which I have more at heart than all the politics in the world, which is my gratitude to your sister. I wish I knew how to return half her kindness to you and Lady Holland, to whom I consider myself as beholden for it, and never can sufficiently show how much I feel it and how much I consider myself indebted in consequence."

THE PROBLEM OF JUNIUS

Lord Lansdown's death removed one of the few men who may really have known the secret of the authorship of the *Junius Letters*. If the testimony of Sir Richard Phillips, the friend of Priestley and Hunt, is to be accepted,¹ Lansdown told him only a few days before his death, that he knew Junius, and that the right man had never yet been publicly named. He further promised to write a pamphlet on the subject before the summer was out, if he was spared to do so. A letter written in 1821 to Allen by Macvey Napier, editor of the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and also of the *Edinburgh Review*, suggests Lauchlan Maclean, at one time Lord Lansdown's private Secretary, as Junius. His friend Dr Brewster, he wrote, had found amongst the papers of James Macpherson, of "Ossian" fame, a number of letters, the style of which, joined to other circumstances, inclined him to the belief that Maclean was Junius.

Or can it be that Lansdown suspected Charles Lloyd, George Grenville's secretary, of being the author? Lord North certainly held that belief; although it has been often stated that this was impossible, as Lloyd was on his death-bed at the time when Junius's last private letters were being written. Yet Dr Samuel Parr, the eminent Whig man of letters, who was a constant visitor at Holland House up to the time of his death in 1825, and who was in frequent correspondence with its inmates, was fully convinced that Lloyd was responsible. Edmund Henry Barker, who produced two volumes of *Parriana* a year or two later, gave to Lord Holland, shortly after Parr's death, some interesting memoranda on the subject. A certain Dr Farmer, he said, first traced the letters to Lloyd; while another of Parr's friends quite independently came to the same conclusion. Parr knew Lloyd well, for he had had charge of his natural son, Goddard, for some years, and actually used to call the

¹*Life of Shelburne*, ii, 434.

boy, *Juniades*. He described Lloyd as a fretful and unhappy man, always looking to the gloomy side of things. On one occasion he went so far as to test his theory, by dropping a well-guarded hint when company were present. Lloyd's behaviour on the occasion strongly confirmed his suspicions. Parr believed, however, that Sir Philip Francis was also somehow connected with the business, that he had perhaps assisted in the composition, or had written out some of the letters, in order to make a greater mystery.

This view was also taken by Tierney and by Grey. Both, from their correspondence with Holland in 1817 and 1818 respectively, appear to have seen a letter, avowedly written by Francis in a feigned hand, and sent with some verses, before he went to India, to a lady with whom he was in love : and both felt satisfied that Junius's notes to Woodfall, the publisher, were in that handwriting. Certain reminiscences of William Charles, fourth Earl of Albemarle, repeated in conversation at Norfolk House, led to the same conclusion.¹ Dudley North, on an occasion when much wine had been drunk, tackled Francis in Lord Albemarle's presence, and was told in vehement terms that he had completely disclaimed the authorship. But later in the evening, North laid a trap for him, and, taking him quite off his guard, said, "In short, it is idle to talk so much about it ; we all, in truth, know how it is—Lloyd wrote the letters and you corrected the press." Francis was startled, and, as Albemarle thought, with some surprise, said, "You have made much worse guesses, Sir, in your life than that."

Before leaving a problem of which, it may be, that no final and certain solution will ever be found, a letter from Holland to his son Charles Fox, written from Marlborough in 1816, may be quoted :—

¹ *Further Memoirs of the Whig Party*, p. 404. Appendix D. Lord Albemarle is represented at Holland House in a small portrait, head and shoulders.

Being alone I took a stroll in this town in quest of what is said to be Junius's tomb. The story is that a solitary gentleman travelling was taken ill at an inn here, and after lingering some days died. His cloaths and effects were examined, but nothing was found which could indicate who he was. He had, however, written during his illness a letter directed to the clergyman of the parish, requesting him to bury him in the churchyard and raise a stone over his grave with this simple inscription,

“Here lies the author of Junius,
Magni nominis umbra,”

and authorizing the parson to defray the expenses of funeral and monument from the money found about him. However my search for the tombstone has been as unsuccessful as that of others ; and I believe it to be as difficult to discover as the name of the Author itself.

Francis himself was a frequent visitor at Holland House. He was the only child of that Rev. Philip Francis, to whom we have referred as a false friend of Henry, first Lord Holland ; and owed to his father's long-suffering patron his start in life—employment in the Secretary of State's office, and later a post worth £1,000 a year in the War Office.¹ The story of his residence in India, whence he returned in 1780, and of his quarrel with Warren Hastings, does not concern us here. Lady Holland, who seems to have singled him out for some degree of favour amongst her admirers, wrote of him in 1799² :—

It is impossible to deny Francis's great cleverness. His vivacity and fine senses survived the rolling over of years and tens of years. His temper is irritable to madness ; indeed, he is more or less always in a passion, for if he begins temperately, the ardour of his imagination works him to rage before his sentence closes. He has a remarkable faculty in writing all State Papers, Protests, Petitions, etc., etc.

¹ Walpole's *Memoirs of George III.*, i, 359.

² *Journal*, i, 268.

Lady Holland tells us that Francis was never on good terms with Charles James Fox, and that he retained "a very settled resentment" against him, which grew to open warfare in 1806, when his desire to be sent to India as Governor-General was left unsatisfied. On one occasion at Holland House, Rogers, encouraged by Francis's unusual communicativeness, attempted to question him about Junius, only to be pulled up sharply, and told to mind his own business.¹ A portrait of him, a head and shoulders is to be found at Holland House, a replica of one by James Lonsdale in the *National Portrait Gallery*. Francis died in 1818, at the age of seventy-eight.

Lady Holland mentions in her *Journal* that Mouravieff, the Russian Ambassador in Madrid, with whom she and her husband had become very friendly when in Spain, passed the whole of his stay in England, where he arrived in August 1805, at Holland House, and that Lords Minto and Lorne spent part of the autumn there. The Mintos had taken a house not far away in Kensington: "So William" [his son], said Minto, "can go bird's nesting in the hedges there, as I used to do in my school days."²

Sir Gilbert Elliot, to give Lord Minto the name by which he was known until his elevation to a Barony in 1798, was an old friend of Lady Holland, though twenty years her senior. He had become slightly acquainted with her in England as Lady Webster, and had then impressed her greatly, she tells us, with his affection and "*petits soins*" for his wife, Miss Amyand, a sister of Lady Malmesbury. "The only time I ever was in Mr Burke's company," wrote Lady Holland, "I was dining with the Elliots when they lived in Lord Malmesbury's house. He was remark-

¹ *Letters and Journals of Thomas Moore*, iv. 303.

² *Life of Sir Gilbert Elliot*, iii, 352.

ably entertaining, full of liveliness and wit. I remember his saying, just when Toulon was taken, and a fort of the name of St Anne's held out :—' Aye St Anne's is always in the way at home and abroad,' alluding to Mr Fox's strenuous opposition to the popular cry of war against France."

Lady Webster and Elliot met again in Florence in 1794, where he had arrived after an adventurous journey from Toulon, in the course of which he had visited Paoli, the Corsican patriot, and had also incidentally been shipwrecked. He had held the post of Commissioner at Toulon after its capture by the English, but was forced to take flight when the town was retaken by the French. Elliot in Italy was quite a different person to Elliot in England, as Lady Webster soon discovered, much to her annoyance. One night, on her return from the theatre, she was forced to get out of her carriage and walk home, to avoid his unwelcome attentions. He had been brought up with Mirabeau at the *Pension Militaire* at Fontainebleau ; and to his " Jesuitical education," Lady Webster imputed the maxim, " Pécher en secret, n'est point pécher," which he kept dinning into her ears. To supplement this, on another occasion he observed that the 514th maxim of La Rochefoucauld was fallacious, " On passe souvent de l'amour à l'ambition, mais on ne revient guère de l'ambition à l'amour," and quoted himself as a proof to the contrary !

But now the past was forgotten, and all was made up, although their opinions in politics were dissimilar. Minto spoke of Lady Holland as " grown very fat, but otherwise just as she was." Her husband, he mentioned in terms of high praise. " I like Holland in private extremely. Nothing can be more perfectly natural, good-natured, *moderate* or cheerful . . . They live remarkably well." This was on August 2, 1805, when Lord Henry Petty, the Bessboroughs, Duncannon, M. de Souza, Mouravieff,

"Fish" Crauford and others dined.¹ On the 28th Minto met Stroganoff the new Russian Ambassador to Spain there, Lady Melbourne, Lord and Lady Cowper and Francis Horner.

Lord Minto accepted the post of Governor-General of India from Fox in 1806, and died very shortly after his return to England in 1814. He had started for Minto to meet his wife, in accordance with a pledge given when they parted—for owing to ill-health Lady Minto had been unable to accompany him to India, that their reunion should take place there. He got no further than Stevenage. Lady Holland recounted the pathetic story in a letter to Allen. He had climbed with pain and difficulty, she wrote, to a bedroom in an upper storey in his house in Park Place, in order to take a last look at his wife's picture, as he felt convinced that he would never live to reach Scotland and there see the original of it.

We find Grattan dining at Holland House in June. He told young Henry Fox in 1819, the year before his death, that the happiest days of his life were spent with General Fitzpatrick and Lord Upper Ossory. Holland attended his funeral, and wrote afterwards to Miss Fox :—

I have the satisfaction of having done my utmost to shew my unfeigned respect for his memory, of whose genius I had the greatest admiration, in whose wisdom and goodness I had the greatest confidence, and for whom I really had more personal affection and regard than the few opportunities that I had of cultivating his friendship would seem to justify me in expressing. Never did a man close a more honourable career more generally regretted, admired and loved."

An interesting dinner early in July, given for the Prince

¹ *Life of Sir G. Elliot*, iii, 354 ; and Dinner Books.



HENRY RICHARD, 1806
Third Lord Holland
From a pastel by J. R. Smith



of Wales, included the Bessboroughs, Mr and Lady Caroline Lamb, Lords Henry Petty and Morpeth, the Duke of Devonshire, Whitbread and Allen. The Prince dined at St Anne's Hill with the Foxes a few days later. During the remainder of the year we find the names of Bentham, Canning, Curran, Whishaw and Lushington on one or two occasions ; while those who were continually dining, not to mention members of the family, included amongst many others, their neighbour in Kensington Mr Phillimore, Sheridan, Ward, Horner and Brougham.

To pass on to the year 1806 without some reference to the glorious triumph off Cape Trafalgar during the previous year seems impossible, although it does not appear that Lord Nelson was ever at Holland House. We find, however, a letter from him in 1803 to Lord Holland in Spain, asking whether he could be of any use to them. In response to the reply, he appears to have gone out of his way to assist Holland's friend Le Chevalier,¹ who was anxious to pursue unmolested some astronomical researches in the Balearic Islands at the end of that same year. By far the most interesting reference to the Admiral, however, is contained in a letter to Holland from Mr H. Chamberlain, who was employed at Lisbon to regulate the sailing of the packet boats, and who was later British Consul at Rio de Janeiro. Chamberlain had seen a letter from Nelson's second-in-command, Admiral Collingwood, describing the battle, which ended in these words :—"The Commander-in-Chief, whose name will be immortal in Naval history, fell during the action. England may mourn, for there is nothing left like him."

Holland wrote a good story to his sister, of Nelson's brother, the Rev. William Nelson, who succeeded him and was created an Earl. "Lord Nelson, when asked at Cam-

¹ Jean Baptiste Le Chevalier (1752-1832), traveller and archæologist, who had spent some time in England.

bridge whether he would buy a house in Grosvenor Square, answered, 'No rat me if I does, for tho' I be a lord, a house in a Square is above my touch.' And when told that a three-decker was to be named Nelson or Trafalgar, he observed, 'And pray what good will that do *me*, or what shall *I* be the better for *that* '."

Upon the fall of Addington's Ministry in 1804, George III sent for Pitt to form an Administration. In it the latter was anxious to include Fox, who was prepared to serve with him. But the King would have none of him, and saw to it that he was excluded from the Ministry. At Pitt's death, however, on January 23, 1806, Hawkesbury proved unequal to the task of succeeding him; and King George was then forced to fall back on the man whom he so disliked. And so Fox became Foreign Secretary under Lord Grenville, in that Government which came to be known as "The Ministry of all the Talents." It is fair to say that the relations between the King and his new Ministers were uniformly friendly, although the former expressed no word of regret when informed by Charles Grey of Fox's death.

When Fox took office he had unfortunately only a few months to live. Holland, on his return from abroad, had remarked a distinct change in his uncle's countenance; and it became more and more noticeable that he could no longer endure fatigues of which he would have made light a year or two before. Mrs Fox was greatly alarmed in April. He grew worse as the summer wore on, for with the arrival of June he proved unfit for any work beyond the signing of his name and a few short conversations with his colleagues. He struggled to the House of Commons until the middle of the month, and on the 10th spoke there for the last time, on the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

CHARLES FOX'S DEATH

That and peace with France were the features of England's policy which he had most at heart. Catholic Emancipation had been dropped from the programme, owing to the adverse effect which it might have had upon the King's health.

We shall not dilate on the melancholy scenes which followed, as the details have been given to the world on more than one occasion, and more especially as none of the episodes took place in Kensington. Fox died on September 13 at the Duke of Devonshire's villa at Chiswick, lent to him as a stage in his struggle to return to St Anne's Hill. He longed once again to set foot in his beloved house, but proved to be too ill to reach it. He had been living in Stable Yard, St James, since he had become Secretary of State.

Fox was laid at rest on October 10, by a curious coincidence the anniversary of his first election for Westminster. Holland had planned that the family vault at Foxley, near Malmesbury, should be his uncle's last resting-place. The friends of the deceased statesman, however, demurred, and petitioned for him to be buried at Westminster. Although Lord Grenville offered to recommend to the King a public funeral, a decision was taken that it was, "more consistent with the simplicity and dignity of his character that he should be attended to the grave by his friends, public and private, without the interference of Government."¹ Fox was buried in Westminster Abbey, therefore, but not at the public expense.

An entry in Mrs Fox's Diary on the day of the funeral reads :—

"My angel carried to his last worldly home. As far as such a ceremony can give satisfaction, they tell me this was attended by so many proofs from all ranks of people of love and esteem for his memory and deepfelt regret for

¹ Lady Holland's *Journal*, ii, 181.

his loss, that I cannot but feel gratified that so much goodness was not thrown quite away upon an ungrateful world."

This little volume, which has found a home at Holland House for many years, contains many intimate details of her husband's last illness. It is the first of a long series of note-books, thirty-three in number, in which Mrs Fox recorded her guests at St Anne's Hill, her doings, her private life and her inmost thoughts. These volumes were left at her death to Charles Richard Fox, and have recently, by the kindness of Mr Mervyn Powys, into whose possession they had recently passed on the death of his father, the Hon. and Rev. E. V. Powys, been reunited in Kensington to the earliest one of their number. They continue until 1841, the year previous to her death. Many in number are the entries which show, as years rolled on and sad anniversaries came round, how unalterable was Mrs Fox's grief at the loss of the man on whom she had bestowed her whole affection, and by whom she was equally beloved. May 7 was one of these special days. Fox wrote :—

The seventh of May
Is the happiest day
That I ever knew in my life.
The day it was fine,
The birds sang divine,
And I was all day with my wife.

Mrs Fox was granted a pension of £1,200, originally vested in the names of Lord Holland, General H. E. Fox and William Adam as Trustees, and this was continued to her during her lifetime.

After his uncle's death Holland set about to collect material for his *Life*. He did not contemplate any publication until some years had elapsed, and when the appropriate time seemed to have arrived, he had not the health to

finish the work. It was left therefore to Allen, and finally to Lord John Russell, to put the mass of papers thus collected into final shape for publication. Besides making use of the voluminous matter at his disposal, Holland set about to make inquiries from those friends of his uncle who were likely to be able to give him reliable information and to draw on their personal recollections. Chief among these was Lord Egremont, well known as the owner of Petworth, and as the patron of Turner and of many other rising artists.

Egremont wrote to Holland many years later :—

When I came into what is called the *world*, Voltaire and Rousseau were both alive, and their wit and their doctrines engrossed the attention of everybody ; and not a day passed without hearing their names talked of, either with admiration or censure ; and added to this, everything in fashionable life, dress, food, amusement, morals and manners, all must be French. Grammont's *Mémoires*, the French novels, Crébillon, &c., came in aid of the two living Philosophers, as standards of ethics ; and there was hardly a young married lady of fashion, who did not think it almost a stain upon her reputation if she was not known as having cuckolded her husband ; and the only doubt was, who was to assist her in the operation. Charles Fox was as much infected with the French disease as any of them for a time, but it did not last long ; although I am not sure that if he had had as good a figure as Fitzpatrick, he would not have continued in the hands of Monsieur Le Duc, who used to come over twice a year in a tied wig, like the prints of Lord Chatham, to make us fit to be seen, as long as Fitzpatrick did. But his supremacy in oratory and his love of horse racing, both anti-gallican amusements, contributed to his emancipation from Gallic tyranny, which was certainly very inconvenient, as well as ridiculously expensive in point of dress, and very troublesome in many other ways.

On another occasion too :—

The ladies were rather hardly used in their amours with your uncle, for there was very little secrecy, and generally circum-

stances, which, perhaps a little comical in themselves were very much improved by the ingenuity of his friends. And I think that the poor woman was of all persons the least likely to get quietly out of the scrape.

In answer to a query about the celebrated Mrs, afterwards Lady Crewe, Egremont wrote :—

Lord John Townshend told me that Rogers had been at Brighton, and said to him that there had been a good deal of conversation lately about the estrangement of Charles Fox and Mrs Crewe ; and there are two versions of that story. One is that he never forgave her for having refused to lie to him (a very unpoetical phrase for the raptures of love) ; and the other that she never forgave him for the loss of a £50 note, which was taken from her table, and nothing could ever persuade her that he had not stolen it. I laughed at this nonsense. . .

Both Sir Joseph Banks and William Adam supplied Holland with the same anecdote, of the split in the Whig Party in 1792, when the Duke of Portland and his noble friends broke away. “I wonder,” said Jack Lee, a famous Whig lawyer, “what induced Burke to leave Charles for the lords. The King can make a Lord any day, but it is only the King of Kings that can make such a man as Charles Fox, and that only once in 10,000 years.”

Holland himself could be eloquent upon Fox's sayings. On one occasion in 1835, when his son, Henry Edward Fox, was left in the position of *chargé d'affaires* in Vienna at an early age, owing to the illness of the Ambassador, Sir Frederick Lamb, his father wrote, “As to advice, I remember my uncle's to young diplomats suddenly placed in responsibility was, ‘Write *no* official notes but such as are positively enjoined by your instructions, and you can never get very wrong.’”

And to his elder son, Charles, he wrote in 1817 :—

My uncle's speeches best reported, and which you will find in the edition of his Speeches, are those on the Scrutiny of 1785, that on the Russian war in 90 or 91, and that against the renewal

of the war with Bonaparte in 1803. Do not be deterred by the subject of the first. It is the only real picture of my uncle's style of speaking extant ; and the subject, though at first dry, is in his hands entertaining and connected with branches of our law and constitution, which it is useful to any English gentleman to know. His speeches on the India Bill are well reported.

There are two busts in the House by Nollekens of Charles James Fox, one, signed and dated 1793, larger than, but otherwise very similar to the terracotta in the *National Portrait Gallery*.¹ This shows Fox in the toupee and curls of Reynold's picture of 1789, and was the model no doubt sent to Catherine of Russia. On the marble base are lines by Richard Fitzpatrick :—

A Patriot's even course he steered,
Mid Faction's wildest Storms unmoved,
By all who mark'd his mind rever'd,
By all who knew his heart belov'd.

A second, with close-cut hair, dated 1807, is to be seen on the *Staircase* in company with those of his father and his nephew, by the same sculptor.

The cast of Richard Westmacott's statue in Bloomsbury Square now stands in the gardens,² given by the sculptor

¹ In *Nollekens and his Times* it is dated 1783, but this is incorrect. Mr Goblet, a dealer, wrote to Lord Holland about 1824, that in a very few years Nollekens had produced upwards of 90 marble busts of Fox and Pitt, and 400 or 500 casts in plaster.

² The cast stood in the original Entrance Hall, now the *Breakfast Room*, but was moved in 1848. Lord Lansdowne who went to see it shortly after its erection there, urged Holland to place it elsewhere. In his opinion, he said, it seemed to decrease the size of the room by fully a half—a criticism which certainly does not surprise us. Miss Fox also wrote, "The statue is placed in the Hall, and they are now bronzing it. I think it would have looked better in the Green House [in the South-East arcade]. The ceiling of the hall is too low, and comes too near the top of the head for one to see it to advantage, or I think to judge the likeness."

in 1815. Difficulties seem to have arisen about a site for the original bronze. It was almost settled by the Committee appointed to deal with the matter, to find a site for it in front of Devonshire House, when objections were raised by the family and certain of his friends. To place it there, said they, was to treat it more as an ornament to a private house than as a monument to an illustrious statesman ; and on those grounds the scheme fell through. Next, Westmacott wrote of a possible site in Hanover Square. Finally, Bloomsbury Square was chosen, no doubt at the instance of its proprietor, the Duke of Bedford. Mrs. Fox saw it *in situ* on June 30, 1816, and spoke of it as being as magnificent and simple as she could wish. Many years later Lord John Russell composed the following lines on the cast :—

Behold this form. The sculptor's wondrous art
Has here retraced a Fox's mortal part.
Read history's page. There, stranger you will find
The lasting record of a Fox's mind.
Still would you seek that charm which all subdued,
Then enter here, and see that charm renewed.

Of Fox's later portraits, first and foremost comes the magnificent three-quarter length, standing, with a table by his side, painted by Reynolds. A very similar one, with slight differences in the colour of the waistcoat and in the number of buttons on it, hangs at Holkham, and from that the engravings were made. The Holland House picture was paid for in 1789, £105 ; and the receipt, dated April 20 of that year, was found amongst some old papers by Mrs Fox's friend and companion, Miss Marston, in 1842. A half-length portrait painted by Karl Anton Hickel was bought by the writer in 1907, a smaller and slightly different version of one at the *National Portrait Gallery*. Besides a number of personal relics, there are also two water-colour

HOLLAND AND HIS PARTY

sketches by Lady Diana Beauclerk, and a cast of an intaglio of Fox. Of this Roger Wilbraham wrote to Holland on April 3, 1820, "With this I send you a paste of the Intaglio of your Uncle done by Marchant for Lord Crewe. It is not a common cast from the original, but one which Marchant worked over again with his tools, correcting the error in the original and esteeming it for that reason full as much. He gave it to me, and it is much better in your hands."

Holland was not given office when the Whigs first came into power. His uncle, feeling no doubt that his health was failing, told him on several occasions that he would like to hand over to him the post of Foreign Secretary. By doing so, he would be able to keep an eye on the more important business, with the least possible fatigue to himself. The scheme had the concurrence of many members of the Party, but Fox's malady went ahead too rapidly. Things remained as they were; and when a new Plenipotentiary was required to replace Lord Yarmouth in Paris, in order to discuss negotiations for peace, neither General Fitzpatrick nor Holland, one of whom would have been Fox's choice, were nominated. Instead, Grey, who was by then Lord Howick and in charge, sent Lord Lauderdale. It was not true, therefore, as Fox took into his head, that Holland had refused to go in order not to leave his bedside; but he would almost certainly have done so had the offer been made.

Holland became, however, a Privy Councillor in August, shortly after having been selected by Lord Grenville as a Joint-Commissioner with Lord Auckland, to negotiate a mutual accommodation with an American delegation concerning captures on the high seas and other similar grievances, which led to war six years later. James Monroe

and William Pinkney were the Commissioners for the United States.

Holland tells us ¹ that so much ill-feeling had been aroused in America by what was there reported as the arbitrary methods of the British Navy, that the instructions first issued to the American delegates would have created an exceedingly difficult situation. But with the advent to power of Fox, on whose "fixed attachment and devotion to the cause of liberty in every country" Monroe enlarged in a letter to Holland written many years later, the spirit of those instructions was softened, if not their substance; and a conciliatory atmosphere reigned during the discussions. The Americans even went so far as to sign a Treaty on the last day of 1806, which exceeded their orders and left unsettled one of the most knotty points—the impressment of sailors on the high seas from American ships. They did not disguise the fact that Congress might decline to set its seal on the result of their labours; and something of the sort actually occurred, for President Jefferson refused his ratification.

Holland had no fault to find with the conduct of the Commissioners. Both he and Lord Auckland found them "fair, explicit, frank and intelligent." Mr Monroe had acted as Plenipotentiary in England for several years, and dined at Holland House as early as August 1805. He recrossed the Atlantic shortly after Jefferson's veto was announced. He became Secretary of State, and served two terms of office as President of the United States between 1817 and 1825. His message to Congress in 1823, which embodied the policy known as the "Monroe Doctrine," is of world-wide importance. John Stuart-Wortley, afterwards second Lord Wharncliffe, wrote to Henry Fox an account of his visit to Monroe, when he called on him many years later (February, 1825), to present a letter of intro-

¹ *Whig Party*, ii, 98.

duction from Holland, at the moment when he was handing over the reins of office to his successor, John Quincy Adams. "He is a well-mannered, dignified old man (I suppose I must call him, for he looks so), and appears quite of the old school, as contrasted with the Americans of the present day. We were at his last drawing-room the other night. It was very crowded, and he stood bowing and receiving the presentees as well as a *legitimate*."

These business relations in 1806 were the precursor of a lasting friendship between Monroe and Holland, which only ended with the former's death in 1831. They exchanged presents of books from time to time, and constantly sent their respective friends to one another with letters of introduction. "I have troubled you with many letters," wrote Monroe in 1823, "in favour of my young acquaintance from different States, for which you have not indemnified yourself in a single instance. The fact is, it has become known that a friendly feeling exists between us, and hence it is difficult for me to resist their applications."

With Pinkney, also, the Hollands became intimate. He had been educated in England, and was Plenipotentiary there from 1806 till 1811. He died in 1822.

A rearrangement of the Ministry took place shortly after Fox's death, but was complicated by mutual jealousies between his followers and those of Lord Grenville. The Foxites were agreed and anxious that Holland should succeed his uncle at the Foreign Office, and insisted that in any case he must have a seat in the Cabinet. His own wish was that Lauderdale should be included in it as well as himself; but he was told that there was no room for two. By the advice, therefore, of General Fitzpatrick, he agreed to accept the Privy Seal with a seat in the Cabinet, in order to satisfy his party. He made no secret, however, to

Howick of the fact that his eyes were still directed towards the Foreign Office, and came to an understanding that, if peace was made, he might have liberty to change posts with Lauderdale, and go to Paris : or, alternatively, to resign in his favour, if it was found desirable should negotiations with France fail.

The inception of the friendship between Lauderdale and Holland, who was the younger by fourteen years, was doubtless due to the former's affection for and devotion to Charles James Fox. This attachment was fully reciprocated. "I wonder," Holland once heard his uncle say, "how the world went on when there was no Lauderdale to help it, or what will become of it when he leaves it." This reliance on Lauderdale's judgment proved in the long run to be contrary to Fox's best interests. Lauderdale, with Charles Grey, was largely instrumental in the adoption of the fatal policy of secession in 1797 ; while the Association of the Friends of the People, which was originated at a dinner held at his house, implicated Fox in the general opprobrium directed against the scheme, although it had been put forward entirely without his sanction. William Adam told the Duke of Bedford many years later that he had in his possession a letter from Fox in which he said, "We should do well, if it was not for Lauderdale and his *Friends of the People* : for I consider him the sole author of that measure."

Lauderdale's ardent desire for peace with France after the Revolution, his "studied contempt of general opinion," as Holland puts it, and his constant opposition to the safeguarding measures of Pitt's Government, prevented his reelection in 1796, and again in 1802, as a Scottish representative peer. He had originally obtained a seat in 1790. He received, however, a peerage of Great Britain early in 1806, when the Whigs returned to power. His eccentricities and inclination to violence were a great handicap to him, and prevented him from attaining that eminence in public

LORD LAUDERDALE

life which his talents should have secured for him. Thomas Pelham, writing in 1793 to Lady Webster, said :—

My friend Lauderdale called on me this morning. He is wonderfully entertaining and clever. I wish he was not so busy in politics, for he really does a great deal of mischief without intending it. His delight is in argumentation and pointing out the absurdities and inconsistencies of public men and measures.

Lady Holland spoke of him as excelling at a coarse joke, but as incapable of providing polished wit or even comprehending it. Sheridan once said, "Don't tell Lauderdale, for a joke in his mouth is no laughing matter."

One reference by Lauderdale to Charles James Fox, in a letter to Holland at the end of 1802, may be quoted. In it he was seeking to impart Whig news to the recipient of his correspondence, who was abroad, by separate references to various members of the Party.

Fox I never saw in greater spirits, and he is more eager about politics than I have known him for years. He talks of making something like a regular attendance after the holidays, and means to confine all his efforts to the single subject of securing the preservation of peace. His journey to France had made him very unpopular, and when he went into the House at the commencement of the session, I do not believe, except at the time of forming the Society of the Friends of the People, that there was a similar clamour against a man. Even Tierney, however, acknowledges that his first speech totally put an end to everything of that nature : and he himself, after his second speech, in a letter to me said he had not felt himself so thoroughly in possession of the House since the Russian armament. I understood that he spoke with greater spirit than he has done for years.

Lauderdale continued :—

Lord Holland. This young man is idling away his time in Spain, at a time when his presence in the House of Lords would

be of more use to himself, his friends and his country, than at any other period of his life. He seems to have forgot that time is all and all in this world : that if Oliver Cromwell had lived in the reign of George III^d, he would probably have been a distinguished Methodist preacher : and that if Bonaparte had appeared in the reign of Lewis the 14th, he would probably only have been remarkable as an engineer. I wish you could somehow or another make him understand, that a great advantage in all publick Assemblys arises, even to the ablest man that ever existed, from the circumstance of no one around him being able to speak a word of common sense. You never saw a giant exhibited that did not help his account by having a dwarf along side of him. Indeed, he never had and never can have such an opportunity.

Lauderdale's references to Napoleon, and to his own position when sent to Paris in August 1806, are interesting. "Comment ! on m'envoye un ancien Jacobin," the great man had said, when he heard of the name of the new Plentipotentiary. Lauderdale's efforts in the direction of peace proved unavailing, and his stay in France was consequently short.

The dread of the Great Man is something you cannot conceive. There is not a woman in France who would not think herself obliged to attend his call, tho' with the prospect of being kicked out of the room the moment he is done with her. He has left off the actresses and taken to the ladies about the Court. I have heard that Madame de Chevreuse pretended scruples, but these did not last many hours. The ruin of the whole family must have ensued.

As for me, I can assure you that I am more dreaded by the courtiers here than I was by those at St James's in the year 1794. Even Madame de Coigny has a *peur de diable* at seeing me ; and literally to avoid her uneasiness I have not seen her these ten days. The rule seems to be, that if anybody is asked to meet us by any of the Ministers, they feel *that* a sufficient warrant to visit us ; but if that is not the case, it is done with

fear and trembling. As for the Ministers, they are civil to me beyond description at present.

Lauderdale constantly corresponded with Holland, and several hundred of his letters are preserved at Holland House, a series often most difficult to decipher when not written by a secretary. Fortunately for posterity, this was usually the case in his later years. Tierney, in 1812, wrote of a letter which he had just received, that there was no need for Lauderdale to mark it *private*, for the greater part was illegible ! The topics contained in this correspondence range over a wide field. Politics were chiefly spoken of : problems of currency and bullion, in which Lauderdale took an immense interest and was well versed : the works of Canaletto which he was collecting : as well as the account of his life and pursuits at Dunbar, his home in Scotland. Moore mentions that Lady Holland had a peculiar dislike to the subject of bullion, and that she once said to Lauderdale at Holland House, when he was recovering from an illness, " My dear Lauderdale, as long as you were ill, I suffered you to talk bullion, but now I really cannot suffer it any longer." ¹ For many years he was looked upon as leader of the Scottish Whigs, and in 1821, seemingly much to his surprise, he was decorated with the Thistle.

The King sent for me, and said that a thing had occurred which gave him the greatest pleasure : that it had occurred to him to add to the Order of the Thistle four Knights, and that he had destined the first ribbon for me, which he hoped I would take as a testimony of the pleasure he derived of thinking of our old and our renewed friendship. He desired that I would remember it was from him ; on which I told him that that could not escape, because I could assure, if it was not from him, and the manner it was done, I would not have accepted :

¹ *Diary*, iii, 167.

but I certainly thought I would not do otherwise in the way he had been pleased graciously to offer it me. He then pulled out of his pocket an ornament to hang at the end of the Ribbon, telling me that he hoped, when I got it, I would wear that for his sake.¹

True to his reputation for extremes, Lauderdale's views were by that time undergoing a fundamental change, although as late as 1836 he stoutly maintained that he was as much of a Whig as ever he had been. If that was so, his thoughts were hardly consistent with his actions. In 1827 he was at logger-heads with Holland at the time of the formation of the Goderich Ministry, and announced that he would never again take any official position. Yet he wrote quite frankly, that his friendship would never change, however much they might squabble and argue over politics; and as Holland was of the same disposition, their correspondence continued as in the past, though at times acrimonious recriminations were not absent. After 1830 Lauderdale seldom left Scotland; but he opposed the Reform Bills tooth and nail, and gloried in 1831, in a letter to Lady Holland, in the fact that he had been instrumental in returning twelve Scottish representative peers out of sixteen pledged against the measure.

¹ According to Creevey (*Memoirs*, ii, 27) the King appointed a batch of four Knights, and had never previously mentioned the subject to the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool.

CHAPTER XI

1806-1809

BOOKS AND POLITICS

LADY HOLLAND'S *Journal* continues more or less regularly throughout 1806 ; but the entries after her return from abroad refer chiefly to politics and to Fox's illness, and no mention is made for many months of the social activities at Holland House. In January 1807, the Hollands took a house in Pall Mall.

Before leaving the year 1806, however, we must make some allusion to Holland's *Life of Lope de Vega*, which was published by Longman at the commencement of August. The first edition of 500 copies was exhausted within a month, and a second followed. Its author had been captivated by the literature of Spain. Its beauty appealed to that poetic sense which was so highly developed in his nature. The poems of the poet Ercilla (1533-95) induced him in early life to attempt a translation ; although he confessed years later in a letter to Mrs Callcott, that his boyish efforts were far removed in merit from William Hayley's treatment of the same subject. It may be held that an account of his work hardly comes within the scope of the history of the House. Yet indirectly it can be shown to have had an important influence on the development of the library, for which Holland was almost entirely responsible. His predilection for Spain, and his interest in her culture and her politics, diverted his taste in book collecting to those channels. Thus a remarkable collection of Spanish authors grace the shelves, the natural outcome

of the researches which his work on Lope de Vega encouraged him to make.

Princess Liechtenstein terms Holland, "the best informed and most elegant of our writers on the subject of the Spanish theatre." His imagination was carried away by the genius of that amazingly prolific dramatist of whom he wrote, and within a month or two of his arrival in Spain in 1802, we find him hard at work in collecting material for the *Life*. This he finished before October 1804, assisted by the knowledge and advice, as he informs us in his "Dedication," of Don Manuel Josef Quintana, himself a lyric poet and writer of high distinction.

How many of the manuscripts of Lope de Vega's plays, now in the House, are attributable to Holland's actual travels in the country, it is difficult to state; for the fact that his intense interest in the subject was common property encouraged his friends to assist in the work of acquisition. John Philip Kemble, the manager of Covent Garden Theatre, sent him four plays in 1812, found when rummaging in booksellers' shops. Roger Wilbraham found another for him about the same time. George Ticknor, the American, promised him some manuscripts many years later: and George Villiers, in 1838, was commissioned to buy him any which he could find in Spain.¹

Hayley himself was amongst the host of Holland's friends who offered their congratulations on his work. We find letters from Canning, Boringdon, Thomas Campbell, Roscoe, Whishaw, Hookham Frere, and Douglas Kinnaird. Richard Payne Knight wrote:—

Amongst the many gratifications it has afforded, the least has

¹ The Collection consists of a number of manuscript plays, of which six or seven certainly are originals. One play in particular is important, *Al Pasar del Arroyo*, for though in the hand of copyists, it is taken directly from the original, which is lost, and differs from the text of the only other known version (W. L. Fichter, *Hispanic Review*, 1935).

not been to find you sanction by your authority the use of plain English, *aequabile et temperatum genus orationis*, which Johnson, Burke and Gibbon have rendered almost obsolete, but which is, nevertheless, the best style for all common purposes.

Southey, too, who allowed that he was quite unacquainted with Lope's dramatic writings, said, "I have been greatly pleased by the orthodox English, both of the prose and verses, as well as by the subject and by your manner of treating it. You are of the school to which I am attached, and have caught more of our old friend Dryden's ease and spirit than I have seen for a long time."

Sydney Smith, to whose assistance in dealing with the proofs the manuscript bears witness, took, ostensibly at least, quite another line.

You are naturally such an enemy to all kinds of affectation and foppery in style, that you write in an untidy, slovenly manner, and come in with your knees unbutton'd, vest and cravat untied, that nobody may call you a coxcomb. I know your theory is that a man should write as he talks—in which I have the good luck to differ from you totally. For in talking, eyes, legs, arms and fingers help. If you are elliptical, you are not obscure, if you are ungrammatical, your errors are not noticed on account of the rapidity or interest of your speech. A man who writes as he talks, should give a lively engraving of himself on every page, animate the coldness of a reader by images of life, and bring on that conversing warmth which supplies the want of a nominative case by a glance of the eye, and accepts of a *lear* in lieu of a preter-perfect tense or rather a future. I am the best man in the world to correct a book, for I shall not be in the slightest degree affronted if you reject every one of my emendations, being nevertheless quite certain that you ought to adopt them all.

In 1814, Holland set about to prepare a new edition of the book, adding to it a *Life* of Lope de Vega's friend

Guillen de Castro, the author of the *Cid*. This was published in two volumes in 1817. Holland writing to his son, Charles, on March 8, spoke despondently of his labours. No one was reading the book, he said, and it had not been properly reviewed.¹ "Among the compliments I have received," he wrote, "from those I sent it to, I received one yesterday which I did not understand. The writer says he could no more keep himself from reading the poetry than from *going into a clump of green trees*. What does he mean?"

Professor Dugald Stewart, whose name was so well known in the learned circles in Edinburgh, wrote him a letter of encouragement. A small plaster profile in relief of him by John Henning, dated 1801, preserves for us a representation of his features. Stewart was born in 1753, and was chiefly celebrated for his philosophical teachings and for his works on those subjects. His intimacy with Sydney Smith, with Francis Horner, with Allen and with Henry Brougham, as well as the fact that he was tutor to Lord Henry Petty and later acted in the same capacity to Lord John Russell, brought him into close relationship with Holland; though they do not appear to have corresponded to any great extent.

A reminiscence of Samuel Rogers in relation to Stewart, is not unworthy of note. It occurs in a letter from Holland to his uncle, Lord Upper Ossory:—

Rogers diverted us the other day with telling, before Horner and Allen, Knight's opinion of Dugald Stewart: how he had done nothing to merit his reputation, how his *Lives* were lifeless, and his philosophy sometimes trite and shallow and sometimes obscure. At all this the two Scotchmen fired; and Rogers sat enjoying the effects of his reported satire, and, when Allen stopped for breath, added, "But I haven't done yet—there's more."

¹ This was remedied in the *Quarterly Review* in 1818.

THE SLAVE TRADE

Brougham spoke of Stewart, probably about 1803, at his villa, "furnishing his next two volumes, 'of the verry profound and elabourate worrk, towarrds which the eyes of an astonished worlde are dirrected'."

We must now return to Lord Holland in the early months of 1807, before the fall of the Grenville Ministry. That March saw the passing of the Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, which, in Holland's words, "put an end to one of the greatest evils to which the human race has ever been exposed, or at least to our share in the guilt of it."¹

His uncle's last speech in Parliament was made upon his own Motion, to take effectual measures for the elimination of a trade which was contrary to the principles of justice, humanity and sound policy. Fox had for many years shown his deep interest in this leading question of the day, and was no doubt urged on to carry it to its conclusion by the encouragement and persuasion of Wilberforce. Both the King and his eldest son were antagonistic to the movement for abolition, but in 1806 Fox had persuaded the latter "not to stir adversely." The problem received a set-back in 1814. Castlereagh was luke-warm at the Congress of Vienna; and an opportunity of enlisting the support of other nations was lost. Holland wrote at that time to Allen, "On the Slave Trade great schisms have, I fear, occurred, in which both sides are, I think, to blame. Wilberforce is trimming and shabby in the extreme, but many good men and all neutral men go with him. Grenville is right, but I think over stubborn." Later, its leading supporters, Wilberforce, Whitbread, Zachary Macaulay, Brougham and the Buxtons set out to tackle Emancipation—the question of putting an end to Slavery itself, which, as

¹ *Whig Party*, ii, 158.

Holland rightly pointed out in a long dissertation to his fifteen-year old son, Charles, is often confounded with the Abolition of the Trade. It was not until 1833, that their efforts were crowned with final success. Holland to his lasting honour, gave this further measure his full support; although its effect was most detrimental to the financial interests of Lady Holland's West Indian property. He and Lafayette were in close touch in 1831, on the best methods of forwarding the good work.

One of Holland's stipulations when he took the Privy Seal, was that John, Duke of Bedford, who had succeeded his brother in the Dukedom in 1802, should be sent to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant. Holland was subsequently in close correspondence with him on the subject of certain concessions to the Roman Catholics, which the Duke considered necessary if Ireland was to remain tranquil. The danger point, however, proved to be nearer home. Under an Act of 1793, Irish commissions in the army up to the rank of Colonel were opened to Roman Catholics. A proposal was now made to allow the same latitude in England; and to this extension King George might, however unwillingly, have agreed. But the Government, owing to a misapprehension, went further, and introduced a clause into the Mutiny Bill, sponsored by Lord Howick, to open all ranks of the army and navy to Roman Catholics. When it was discovered, however, that the King was adamant on this point, the offending clause was withdrawn. Yet the Monarch pressed his advantage so strenuously, by asking for an undertaking that Ministers would never apply to him again for concessions of this nature, that they were driven to resign office at the end of March, under very similar circumstances to those which had forced Pitt from office in 1801:

One letter written by Holland to Bedford, in the heat of crisis, dated March 13, 1807, and marked "most private,"

may here be quoted. It is important, for it shows that Holland absolved the King of any bad faith in the matter, a conclusion which his recollections, as published in his *Memoirs*,¹ would otherwise hardly entitle us to accept.

Since I wrote, which by the bye is a scandalous long time, we have been embarrassed in a most perplexing way about the bill relating to Catholic commissions in the army, and were at last reduced to the alternative of yielding some of the points, or breaking with the Court and some of our colleagues. Had we been quite in the right our case would have been clear, and we must have resigned on the bill being rejected by any branch of the legislature ; for if it had come to the throne the negative would certainly have been put. Had we had the least reason to suspect that the K. did it to thwart us, that he affected to misapprehend in order to perplex us, or that he was glad of such an opportunity of quarrelling with us, we must have come to the same conclusion. But the truth is, he did honestly misunderstand us ; and indeed some of our friends, Grey among the number, were not aware that our original dispatch to you meant to extend the grant beyond the Irish Act. The K. therefore found steps taken both in Ireland and in Parliament (for the bill was already there), without his having consented to the measure as at last explained to him : and I must own that, with all my disposition to suspect what comes from that quarter, I am convinced that there has been neither trick, intrigue nor design on this occasion—sheer bigotry, not to use a still more disagreeable phrase. So much do I believe this, that I am persuaded the prospect of change added to the melancholy and restlessness which the fear of this question had produced in his frame.

We cannot quit the subject without a reference to the *Letters of Scaevola*, written by John Allen at this time, no doubt from Holland House. They gave, according to Holland, a clear and concise account of all the circumstances which led to the resignation of the Ministry.

¹ *Whig Party*, ii, 192, *et seq.*

Howick expressed a hope at the end of May that Scaevola would not remit his exertions, for there had not been one letter which had not appeared excellent. In reply Holland wrote, "We have suffered grievously by our squeamishness, for I am convinced that if the last 3 letters of Scaevola had appeared while public curiosity was still awake on the subject of our dismissal, we should have had the cry, as well as the justice of the case on our side."

The Hollands spent part of the month of May at a house which they had taken at Southampton : and made a tour in Scotland and the North of England during the autumn, taking Allen, Marsh and Mr Knapp, the latter as tutor to Charles Fox, who was with them. In the course of their visit to the Lake country they met both Wordsworth and Southey. The latter made use of the Holland House library for his *Life of the Cid*. They again met him in those parts in 1810. Lady Holland wrote to Allen that they found Southey, "agreeable as he always is, very natural and eager. . . . He was entertaining and told us stories of the English Consul at Coruña, who was as much addicted to metaphysics as any Edinburgh philosopher. One of his doctrines is that the world is in a progressive state of natural improvement, that at present there is no God, but there will be one by and bye. The novelty of this opinion diverted Dumont and Lord Holland very much."

Allusion should be made to a dinner during that summer, on July 30, when the Prince of Wales was present ; the other guests being the Duke of Norfolk, Albemarle, Petty, Lord and Lady Foley, Lady Melbourne, William Lamb, Romilly, Tyrwhitt, Sydney Smith and General Fitzpatrick. Sixty-five years later Charles Fox added a memorandum in the Dinner Book of an incident which he had often heard his father recount, as showing H.R.H.'s quickness and cleverness. He was a boy of eleven at the



HOLLAND HOUSE, SOUTH SIDE



time, and well remembered the arrival of the Prince with his footman in scarlet.

Sydney Smith was then a young curate, and of great wit and learning, and already sought after for his agreeable and merry conversation. He had not, however, always *Tact* in his remarks ; and his high spirits often carried him away, so as to make imprudent though witty remarks. At the dessert on this occasion, y^e conversation turned upon *wicked* men, and the guests named those that they deemed most wicked of remarkable men. Several were named, when Sydney Smith from y^e further end of the table called out that “ the wickedest man that ever lived was y^e Regent Duke of Orleans, and he was a *Prince*.” The company looked, as it may be well supposed, rather aghast at this assertion, His R. Highness’s morality, as is well known, not being of the highest order. The Prince looking down the table said instantly, “ No, y^e wickedest man that ever lived was Cardinal Dubois, the Regent’s Prime Minister, and he was a *Priest*, Mr Sydney.” The Prince did not even know or remember that Sydney’s name was Smith as well as Sydney.

Mrs Fox in her Diary spoke of spending two nights at Holland House in August, and of being shown Lord Holland’s farm and dairy. These adjoined Little Holland House, which at Holland’s invitation Caroline Fox and her aunt Miss Vernon had made their permanent abode since 1803. Miss Fox wrote in September, “ Your new lodge looks exceedingly picturesque, half hid among the trees ; and bringing the gate forwards seems to account for the Plantation, which looked unmeaning before.” In all probability she was referring to the gate on to the Uxbridge Road, at the North-East corner of the property, near where Holland Walk now joins Holland Park Avenue.

A bombshell exploded while the travellers were enjoying

themselves in the North. The title to the Holland House property was about to be disputed. Holland wrote from Dumbarton to his sister :—

The day before yesterday I received a piece of intelligence which is entirely unpleasant, and may possibly shorten our excursion. This was a letter from Lord Kensington announcing the prosecution of his claim to Holland House, etc., etc. Lady H., as you would guess, sees us all turned out, homeless and houseless immediately ; and though I have no apprehension of the ultimate decision, I confess I do not look forward with much pleasure to the contest, together with the expense and her agitation, which will be the consequences of it. I fear that Romilly is his lawyer ; and I shall, in addition to the disadvantage, have the mortification of having him against me.

This was not the first intimation, however, that something of the kind might have to be faced. As long ago as 1799, Mr Robert Adair, a diplomat and an intimate friend of Charles James Fox, of whom we shall have much more to say in later years, warned Holland, that William Edwardes, later second Lord Kensington, was said to be boasting of his intention to claim the Holland House estate on his father's death. The latter, created Lord Kensington in 1776, had, as we have seen, sold the property to Henry Fox in 1768. He had succeeded to it from his young cousin Edward Henry Rich, seventh Earl of Warwick and fourth Earl of Holland in 1721. William Edwardes, as he was also named before he was raised to the peerage, married in 1762 ; and it was not until fifteen years later that his only child was born. Rumour, said Adair, spoke of a clause in the indenture, notwithstanding the fact that an Act of Parliament had been passed to remove any difficulties at the time of the sale, by virtue of which the property should revert to his heir-male should one be alive at the time of his death. Lord Kensington died in 1801 at the age of 90 ; and so his successor, who had

A PROTRACTED LAWSUIT

the reputation of a fondness for lawsuits, in time made good his threat, being actuated by a feeling of genuine annoyance that his father had parted with the property.

The proceedings were most protracted; for the Bill which Kensington's lawyers prepared hung fire, and does not appear to have been put forward. Years went by. Sir Arthur Piggott, Attorney-General in the Ministry of All the Talents, who was retained by Holland, died in 1819; and it was not till 1823 that a personal compromise was arranged with Kensington by James Abercromby, who later became Speaker of the House of Commons and Lord Dunfermline. Let Holland speak for himself in a letter to his son Henry:—

I have terminated my suit with Lord Kensington, and am now monarch of all I survey, *de jure and de facto*. I have paid more than I can well afford (£4000) for this speedy, quiet and undisputed possession of what was already my own—but, with a view to immediate improvement by building in concert with my neighbour L^d K., not more than it is worth. I should add that, from the moment a negotiation was commenced, I had no reason to be dissatisfied with L^d Kⁿ, that on the contrary he conducted himself in a liberal and gentlemanlike and amiable manner.

One member of the legal profession, who stood high in its ranks, and advised Holland more than once on the case, was often at Holland House during these years, Thomas Erskine, Lord Chancellor in the Whig Ministry of 1806. A picture of him at Holland House, head and shoulders, after Sir Thomas Lawrence, now hangs in the *Journal Room*. Of his portrait by Reynolds, now at Windsor, he wrote to Holland in 1818, "Sir Joshua Reynolds once said to me when I went to him with Jack Lee to sit for my portrait, 'You sit *so well*, that I fear I shall make it *too like*; as no painter nor any artificial imitator of nature, no matter of what description, can be perfect without an intentional

deviation from the original, which very few painters understand'."

Thomas Erskine was the youngest son of Henry David, tenth Earl of Buchan. He started life in the navy, subsequently went into the army, and while still a lieutenant in that service, decided more by chance than anything else to go to the Bar. This was in 1773, when twenty-three years of age. His success was phenomenal, and he rose with startling rapidity in his new profession. A friend of Fox and Sheridan, he was first brought into Parliament in 1783, and became personal adviser to the Prince of Wales. Though an orator of the highest merit, without classical education to assist him, it was at the Bar that he excelled. "I think myself a very good lawyer," he once wrote to Holland, "yet I do not pretend to be much of a politician." Bobus Smith said of him, that he knew not why God Almighty should have been at the pains of making a *nisi prius* lawyer, but he certainly succeeded when Erskine was formed.¹ His vanity, unfortunately, was his besetting sin, and made him at times appear ridiculous both to his friends and to the public. Lord Lauderdale wrote of him after his death in 1823, "Poor Erskine, you know, never had a fixed opinion upon any subject. When he called a person's attention to any particular point, the aim of his mind was not to communicate to you his sentiments, but to make a case that should attract from you at the moment the acquiescence or applause which flattered his vanity."

Lady Holland's first impressions of him were unfavourable, yet she soon succumbed to the fascinating contradictions of his character. "He is, as I could not help telling him, by far the most extraordinary man I ever met with. An incomprehensible compound of wit, ability, absurdity, folly, vanity and sagacity."² The truth of her remark, that he could pun in rhyme, but that he had no pretence to

¹ *Further Memoirs of the Whig Party*, p. 298. ² *Journal*, ii, 94.

harmony of verse, is exemplified in the following lines accompanied by a pen and ink sketch of the bird :—

THE CAPTIVE HAWK TO L^r HOLLAND

Lady, think not I venture this gallant emprise,
 To pamper a taste that is fickle and varies :
 T'was y^r Ladyship's eyes tempted me from the skies,
 Not your birds, for I'd rather eat larks than canaries.
 Then pity the cause that excited my daring,
 And blame not the Hawk that instructively flew,
 To risque both his life and his plumage, not caring
 For ought but caresses and kindness from you.

Erskine's tragedy came after the fall of the Whig Ministry. He drifted out of public life, and took little interest in the legal or political work of the Lords. He was apt to refer to the Bishops' bench in that House as, "The flocks of Magpies on the right of the Woolsacks." He squandered his immense earnings at the Bar, and discredited the last years of his life by an unworthy second marriage. Holland, who had once received an epigram from him through Rogers, to the effect that he was "the keeper of his nonsense," wrote of him to Grey after his death :—

Poor fellow, the last ten years of his life added little to his enjoyments and nothing to his reputation ; but that will be obliterated, and his genius and his services will remain. After all, he was a wonderful man. Few lives have been more useful to this country or to the cause of liberty ; and in spite of what was called, I think miscalled, his failure in Parliament and the nullity of his latter years, he will rank among the first of our lawyers and orators : and, if the disadvantages of his early life and the rapidity and brilliancy of his success at the bar are faithfully recorded, as one of the greatest phenomena that ever appeared in either Chamber.

A statue by Westmacott was erected in Lincoln's Inn Hall some years after his death, and is now in the Library

there. Casts of it, glazed in a method invented by the sculptor to imitate marble, are at Holland House and at Woburn.

Of Henry Erskine, the Lord Chancellor's elder brother and Lord Advocate in the Coalition Ministry in 1783, Holland had written, when touring in Scotland as a boy in 1790, "I like him better than his brother. He is less wild and much less conceited, and equally clever seemingly. He is, if possible, higher in the law in Scotland than his brother is in England." He also told a good story of him in his *Memoirs*.¹ Erskine termed Boswell, "'the Bear leader,' and pretended that on being introduced to Dr Johnson in the streets of Edinburgh, he simply bowed to the stranger, but turned round to his countryman and slipped half-a-crown into his hand with thanks for the show."

The Hollands returned to Holland House from their tour at the end of November. They had arranged to meet little Henry, then five years old, who was under Miss Fox's care at Hinkley, in Lincolnshire. There resided an eminent surgeon, Robert Chesser, who was to be consulted about the weakness in the boy's leg. He had been born with some malformation of one foot and leg, and with a slight curvature of the spine besides ; but the ill-effects were much mitigated in after-life by early care and treatment. Nollekens executed a marble bust of the little boy at the age of four. In January 1808, Charles went to Eton ; and a few weeks later the family moved to Pall Mall, in order that Holland might attend Parliament and pursue the course of fruitless Opposition.

At the commencement of the session George Ponsonby had been chosen to lead a disgruntled and disheartened

¹ *Further Memoirs*, p. 320.

party in place of Howick, who had become Earl Grey on the death of his father late in 1807. Thomas Grenville, whose acceptance of the post would have been generally welcomed, refused the offer. Ponsonby had made a first appearance in the British Parliament in 1801 at the age of forty-six, and came over from Dublin with a big reputation as a lawyer and as an orator. Lord Wycombe wrote to Holland in 1799, that Ponsonby would be welcomed in the English House of Commons for the cleverness of his reasoning, the extreme clearness of his mode of expressing himself, and the impressive sobriety of the matter which he used. He held the office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland in the Ministries of Fox and Grenville, and had Grey's support for the leadership as uncle to Lady Grey. In this position, however, he can hardly have inspired general enthusiasm, for we are told that doubts were freely expressed as to whether he was personally acquainted with twenty of his supporters.¹

Holland spoke of the appointment as a preposterous one, and always looked upon him as ill qualified for the task. Indeed, in 1810, he did his best to get Grey to persuade Ponsonby to resign, but in vain. He had been accepted by most of the party, and continued as leader until incapacitated by a stroke in 1817. In that year Holland wrote to his sister, "Poor G. Ponsonby ! He is a worthy, honourable man, if ever there was one, and if he has not surmounted the difficulties of the situation in which with many disadvantages he was placed, it will at least be no easy matter for another to fill it, or even to obtain it."

For a year or more Holland had been engaged on a literary labour of love—the publication of his uncle's *History of the early part of the Reign of James II.* It was

¹ *Whig Party*, ii, 238.

given to the public at the end of May 1808. The price paid for it, by William Miller, bookseller, of Albemarle Street, was £4500, a welcome addition to Mrs Fox's slender resources. Holland spoke of the sum as, "much larger than was ever given for a book of the size." He himself appended a Preface, dated April 25, 1808, which was well received, notwithstanding the many qualms which he felt about it; and indeed it was highly praised by those of his friends who were qualified to pronounce on such matters. In it Holland spoke of the motives which had induced Mr Fox to undertake the work as, "he knew by experience that he was as slow in composition as he was rapid in public speaking." Fox, after his secession from Parliament in 1797, had the prospect of long and uninterrupted leisure, and had looked about for subjects to occupy it. "His intimate knowledge of English constitution," wrote Holland, "naturally led him to prefer the history of his own country, and to select a period favourable to the illustration of the great general principles of freedom, on which it is founded; for his attachment to those principles, the result of practical observation as well as philosophical reflection, far from having abated, had acquired new force and fresh vigour in his retirement. With those views, it was almost impossible that he should not fix on the Revolution of 1688."

One of the reasons for Fox's visit to Paris in 1802 had been to collect material for his book: and in it he was much assisted by Malcolm Laing, whose own *History of Scotland* was published during that year. Holland described his uncle's work as "incomplete and unfinished."

Such was the author's abhorrence of anything that savours of pedantry or affectation, [he continued] that, if he was ever reduced to the alternative of an inflated or homely expression, I have no doubt but he preferred the latter. This persuasion, in addition to many other considerations, has induced me re-

ligiously to preserve every phrase and word of the original manuscript.

Holland took this opportunity of announcing his intention of writing his uncle's *Life* and invited the co-operation of those who could give him assistance. His appeal for papers and letters met with an instantaneous response from several quarters. In the case of Fox's correspondence with John, Duke of Bedford, it may even have saved a portion at least of valuable records from destruction. The Duke wrote on May 17, 1808, after reading through the proofs of his friend's Preface, that his letters from Fox were at his service ; although there were parts of them which he would not entrust to the sight of any other person. He continued, " The habit I have of destroying all private letters has left me without any written previous to my going to Ireland, and my brother's papers were at his express desire committed to the flames."

On June 6, Lady Holland wrote to Grey :—

The History succeeds far beyond our most sanguine expectations. Those even who do not perhaps agree to the sentiments allow that as a work it is excellent. . . . The Prince disapproves of the Preface, but gives no reason, wherefore L^d H^d suspects that he dislikes the letter to Laing in which Mr Fox laughs at Hume's childish fondness for the Princes.

The Hollands spent the summer at Holland House. Lady Holland wrote to Grey on April 14, 1808, " We have enjoyed ourselves mightily here : the fresh air, verdure, and singing birds are delicious at all times, but more especially after the dense vapours, gas lights and din of Pall Mall. As yet the melody of the nightingale has *only been heard* by Lauderdale. He protests to having heard one singing ; I know not how far one may depend upon the accuracy of his organs. These rustic pleasures have occupied and kept me out of the way of hearing much news."

Shortly after their return in August from another stay of a month with Henry and Miss Fox at Hinkley (the former still under his surgeon's care), and from visits to friends, the Hollands entertained five Spanish deputies at dinner. Two, the Visconde de Materosa, better known in later years as Count Torreno, and Don Andres de la Vega, came from the Junta of Oviedo, Sangro from Galicia, and General Jacome and Admiral Apodaca from Seville. Don Augustin Arguelles, Lord and Lady Cowper, Romilly, Mr Abercromby and Sir Thomas Dyer were also present at the dinner. The mission had been sent over to plead for assistance for the Spanish nation against the French, and was successful in inducing the British Government to send both arms and money, and to divert a force to Portugal which had been destined for other employment. The arrival of these Spaniards and their enthusiasm for their cause may have been the inducement to the Hollands to set out for a trip to their country early in October. Otherwise it seems difficult to explain why they should have undertaken the risks inseparable from travelling in such close proximity to the seat of war. Their letters throw no light on the mystery. True, Wellesley's victory at Vimiero, the Convention of Cintra, and certain successes which favoured the Spanish armies at this time, may have seemed to minimise the chances which they were taking. But their friends could not fathom the reason for this strange decision ; although Holland assured them that they would not be away for long, and promised to be dining at Holland House again on May 20, with just the possibility even of a return in February.

Think of the Hollands going to Spain," wrote Lady Bessborough.¹ "It really does seem to me very absurd. . . . I should not think L^y H., with all her attendants and wants, a good follower of a camp. Neither she nor L^d H.

¹ *Lord G. Leveson-Gower*, ii, 335.

THE HOLLANDS IN SPAIN

would make famous warriors ; and as to *counsel* in a civil capacity, much as I love L^d Holland, I should be sorry to have him interfere, and still more *her* ; they would—*she* intentionally, he possibly unintentionally—shake the confidence that is placed in Government, and would promote, I think, discussions which had better be left at peace, especially at present.”

Miss Fox was much annoyed with her brother, and said that he ought to remain at his post in Parliament. Brougham, who was making a name for himself by his articles in the *Edinburgh Review*, and for whom a seat was found early in 1810, wrote a furious protest, and also implored Lady Holland to stop her husband from going. He looked upon Holland, he said, as the head of the party. Complete disruption would be certain to follow on his departure, especially as Grey and Lauderdale seemed doubtful about coming to town. Lord Grenville, too, urged Holland not to choose Spain for his trip, and warned him that Canning had announced that he would take steps to prevent anyone who had been in the public service from going there.

Yet the Hollands started from London on October 9. Canning, by that time Foreign Secretary, had relented in Holland's case, but warned him, in forwarding his passport, to be careful in any communication with persons in authority. They were permitted by Lord Mulgrave, the First Lord of the Admiralty, to proceed to Coruña in a frigate, the *Amazon*. They reached that harbour on November 4, by which time the situation in the Peninsula was much changed for the worse. Their passage of five days was an excellent one, but the delay at Plymouth had been tedious, and such was Lady Holland's fear of privateers, that there were moments when a cancellation of the whole trip was under serious consideration.

The party consisted of Allen, Charles Fox and Lord John

Russell, then a boy of sixteen. The Duke, his father, wrote to Holland :—

I have requested Mr Smith to inform you of the particular studies he is now pursuing with him, and I beg of you to urge him not to *throw away* time whilst he is with you. Mr Allen's good nature and obliging disposition will, I am sure, readily induce him to give him his assistance whenever he may be at a loss. He is just beginning a course of ancient history for his own private reading. As to modern languages, he is, I believe, a tolerable master of French, and has lately taught himself Italian. These, with his knowledge of Latin, will make Spanish easy to him : and I have no doubt that he will soon acquire a competent knowledge of it, from the great facility he has of learning languages. He has a great fancy for the diplomatick line, which I have willingly encouraged, as he is not without a sufficient share of ambition to acquire that degree of knowledge, which may hereafter distinguish him from that herd of Ministers and Ambassadors who have so frequently (especially of late years) brought ridicule and disgrace upon the country.

John has a pretty turn for poetry, but I fear some of his friends have a little laughed him out of it.

The Hollands did not keep their promise, and only reached Holland House on their return on August 13, 1809, having again been given a passage in a man-of-war. Three months afterwards, on November 7, a second daughter was born to them.

A week later died Lord Lansdowne, better known to us as Lord Wycombe. Indirectly, his death was another fatal blow to the Whig Opposition, as it removed Lord Henry Petty from the Commons to the House of Lords and with him the one remaining individual who showed outstanding promise as a leader in the Lower House. The choice in 1808 had lain between George Ponsonby, Whitbread and him. He had served as Chancellor of the Exchequer in

the Ministry of all the Talents, and produced in the Budget of 1807 a new scheme for providing for war expenditure during the next fourteen years. This was in all probability not too sound ; and, although it passed the House, it was thrown out after the fall of the Grenville Ministry.

Grey spoke about that time of Petty's "most violent passion for the matrimonial state." He became engaged in December 1807 to Lady Louisa Fox-Strangways, daughter of Henry Thomas, second Earl of Ilchester, and married her on March 30. Lady Holland wrote of her in April, as very pretty, and charming in her manners : and spoke of Petty as becoming quite patriarchal !

Petty's relations with his half-brother since their father's death, and since the new Lord Lansdowne's marriage that same year, 1805, to the widow of Sir Duke Gifford, had been more than strained. He cannot but have resented his brother's attitude to the contents of Bowood. Everything which the latter could lay hands on was sold, and the place became completely derelict during his occupancy. Petty blamed his sister-in-law ; and the fact of the complete change which came over the situation after her introduction into the family points to the correctness of this assumption. Lansdowne died of dropsy. Although he knew for some weeks before his death that he was doomed, and viewed his situation with astonishing and unexampled composure, he firmly refused all advances towards a reconciliation. Holland had remained on friendly, though distant, terms with him and his wife : and saw him within a fortnight of his death. He could not throw off the recollection of their early friendship, and of the "amusement and comfort" which it had brought into his life. Further, he hoped to be of assistance to Petty in the complicated situation which was bound to arise ; for Lansdowne left everything which was his to dispose of to his wife. Indeed, he went out of his way to make everything as

difficult as possible for the new head of the family, by specifying certain reversions in his will, in the event of Petty having no son.

Miss Fox's letter to her brother sums up their feelings :—

Poor Lord Lansdowne ! Considering how early in life we knew him, and how much you, my little brother, have always loved him, we could not hear of his death with indifference. And what death or what life ever furnished a stronger comment upon the vanity of human things, and the sad effects of an ill-regulated mind and a perversion of feelings rather than originally ill disposed ones. Such a waste of talents, of personal and external advantages, as his has been. Alas ! Alas ! poor human nature ! Many people might think it hypocrisy, when I said that I feel more sorrow than indignation in considering what he was and what he might have been. I am sorry for his own sake and for Petty's that no reconciliation took place. For it is painful to think of anyone going out of the world uncharitably disposed towards his fellow mortals ; but Petty, thank God, has nothing to reproach himself with.

CHAPTER XII

1809-1812

RELATIONS AND FRIENDS

THE Hollands arrived back just in time to witness a first-class ministerial crisis, which resulted in a re-arrangement of the Government. Canning and Castlereagh had been sparring for years, and in September 1809 came to blows. A duel resulted, in which the former was slightly wounded. A few weeks earlier, the Prime Minister himself, the Duke of Portland, had resigned on the grounds of ill-health: and died within two months. Spencer Perceval formed a Cabinet, but not without many complications and difficulties. He had Canning to reckon with, who took himself most seriously. Some effort was also made to broaden the basis of the Administration by overtures to Grey and Grenville. Holland described the way in which these were made as foolish and tactless in the extreme; and the Whig Party to a man was behind its leaders in refusing the offers. Someone asked Grattan in 1812, "What sort of a man is Perceval?" To which he replied, "He is not great, he is not little, but he is out in all weathers."

The Whigs too had their peck of troubles. To begin with, Grey could not be induced to leave his home in the North, and preferred to do everything by correspondence. Lord Henry Petty's services had been lost to the Commons; and the idea of a coalition with the No-Popery Parties was unpopular, and especially a junction with Canning, who had made himself generally mistrusted. Holland himself believed that no third party could be lasting, and warned

Grey that their own supporters would probably split off to one side or other, if Canning made good his threat of inducing his following to oppose their old colleagues in the Government. The Prince of Wales was consulted, but he was clearly temporizing ; and Grey could get no encouragement to act one way or another. Sheridan suddenly invited himself to Holland House, a move which Grey took to mean mischief. And finally, there was the old difficulty of the leadership in the Commons. Holland, as we have seen, was opposed to Ponsonby ; but when Grey insisted that he must remain, he acquiesced, and even arranged to meet Whitbread in order to influence him in the same direction. Cohesion was lamentably lacking.

Within a few weeks of the birth of her daughter, Georgina Anne, on November 7, Lady Holland was entertaining again at Holland House. Tierney, Thomas Grenville and Darnley dined one night. On another evening came Lady Elizabeth Foster, who had married the Duke of Devonshire a month before. Lady Holland, who had never liked her, although a miniature by Mrs Mee of her is to be found at Holland House, wrote, "I could not offer a congratulation upon the occasion !" Yet two years later, when the Duke died suddenly, without signing the codicil to his will which would have provided for her, a letter from Lady Holland to Grey put the position in feeling terms.

The situation of the Duchess is deplorable ; for whatever faults she may have had, they are expiated by this calamity. For to the Duke she was always affectionate, good and grateful ; and as he was the cause of her betraying and injuring others, so was he her reward and protector. And now to be deprived of him, her only support, she becomes an object of very great compassion ; and tho' at no time did she excite any friendly feelings in me, yet from the bottom of my heart do I feel for her present sufferings.

The new Duke behaved handsomely to his stepmother

in the way of an allowance ; but she hardly seems to have met his kindness in a spirit of gratitude. Miss Fox wrote to Lady Holland on November 6, 1811, " The poor Duchess of Devonshire, with 6000 a year and her paraphernalia, I should think in the space of three months might have found an asylum and a respectable shelter against the inclemency of the seasons, without exposing herself to the indignity of being *hunted* out of an abode, where it would have been absurd to suppose she could expect to remain. I gave her credit for more good sense than this seems to argue."

In December, Holland went to Nottingham. He had been chosen Recorder of that town by the Corporation, in place of the Duke of Portland. Lady Holland characteristically, " did not much relish the notion of a trip to share his civic honours," and preferred to stay with friends in Leicestershire. An accident to Charles Fox's leg, a bad cut from the hoof of his horse when fox-hunting at Ampt-hill, kept him longer in the country than they expected. Their stay at Holland House, therefore, was short, before they moved for the opening of Parliament to what Miss Fox termed their " old, vile, stinking hole of a house in Pall Mall." Charles joined the Navy in the early summer of 1810, and was sent to the Mediterranean in the *Lively*. That ship was wrecked on the rocks near Malta in September, and the boy, after this unpleasant experience, was transferred to another vessel.

In June 1810 the Opposition lost another asset, whom they could ill afford to spare, William Windham. He died after an operation for a tumour. He had taken little active part in politics since the fall of the Grenville Ministry, and indeed had shortly before that event told Grenville that in future he proposed to act with the Howick-Holland section rather than with him. He appears to have been much offended at the offer of a peerage after Fox's death, and said, " They want ordnance, and yet would begin by

spiking one of their greatest guns !” He had taken the post of Secretary for War, in 1794, in Pitt’s Ministry : for he had been carried away by the fears of his friend Burke, and welcomed war with France. He was at variance, therefore, with Fox at the time of the French Revolution. Yet Miss Fox wrote in that year :—

My uncle Charles, who is confessedly the most indulgent of politicians, is likewise the one who has the greatest variety of occupations and amusements that bear no relation to those subjects—*Fireside* enjoyments. He and Mr Windham *did* last year, in the midst of parliamentary opposition to each other, sit up at the Literary Club *tête-à-tête* till two o’clock in the morning, the word politics or anything relating to them not being mentioned by either of them. This is the advantage (one among many others) of a taste for literature.

Windham and Whitbread, too, were wont to meet under somewhat similar circumstances at dinner at Lord Upper Ossory’s house. Windham, however, followed Grenville, and became the leader of his party in the House of Commons. He sided in future with Fox, and in 1806 took the War Office and the Colonies.

There was one point on which Windham differed in his last years from the orthodox Whigs, the Slave Trade. For that Miss Fox blamed Cobbett, in a letter to her brother dated September 8, 1804. “Cobbett, who is very amusing, very sensible and very factious, has turned most dexterously from Tory principles to Whig, in that following the example of L^d Grenville ; but what I never can forgive him is his obstinate inhumanity with regard to the Negro’s, and the unaccountable influence he has obtained over Windham’s mind upon that subject—Windham whom we remember their warm, their zealous advocate.”

Repairs at Holland House occupied the late summer

and autumn of 1810, and prevented the family from taking up their abode there. The *Library* wall had again been giving trouble, but the defects were made good. Certain additions to the North-West corner of the House were made at this time, which included the rooms built for young Henry Fox, now known as the *Princess's Rooms*, on the ground floor, and the *Inner Library* above. Faulkner¹ tells us that they were built under the direction of Mr Rolls, and that the plans included a garden door on the North side of the House, and a flight of stone steps leading into the grounds. These are still in existence. Certainly this new structure, built against the West wall of the *Library*, would have acted as a buttress and given cohesion and stability to the whole fabric. Holland wrote that the alterations, and the cause for them, had been greatly exaggerated in the newspapers, but mentioned in September that the family had been obliged to live entirely in the *Journal Room* when last in residence there.

At this time Holland introduced into Kensington a flock of Merino sheep from Spain, purchased on his last journey. He seems to have developed a preference for queer breeds, for in 1801 sheep from the Cape had been secured for him. Agriculture, however, was not his forte: and his mild efforts at farming raised derision amongst some of his friends. Sydney Smith, when sending him sheep from the North of England, wrote in one of his characteristic letters:—

I do not know a better judge of character than you, nor is there any man for whose various excellencies of understanding and character I have an higher admiration. But for sheep, for that particular animal by whose destruction mutton is obtained, you must excuse me—in that department of knowledge, pardon me for saying that you betray the most profound and

¹ *History of Kensington*, p. 132.

ludicrous ignorance. You are a statesman, a scholar and a wit, but no Butcher. Be assur'd that a better lot at the price were never sent from the North, and turn as deaf an ear to Johnson as he turns to you. . . . You are indeed a fortunate man to have a friend in the North who understands grazing so well, and I now suspect you placed me here for the express purpose.¹ It is not unamusing to see you deciding upon the nationality of sheep. When an human creature is lean, lousy and logical, we know him to be a Scotchman. But how does this apply to sheep? The meaning of Scotch mutton is *old, small* mutton, fed on poor pastures. These requisites attended to, the register of birth is idle. Lastly, without joke, if the Sheep are bad, I am very sorry. I employ'd a very intelligent, honest cattle-dealer to buy them, and we both did our best; and as such in your good nature I am sure you take it.

As the House was not to be ready until the end of October, the Hollands spent a month at Portsmouth, at Government House, lent them by Holland's uncle, General Henry Edward Fox, who was in command there.

We have lost sight of General Fox since he went to America before the outbreak of war as a lieutenant. Lady Sarah Bunbury wrote of him to Lady Susan O'Brien in 1779, on his return, and thus described him, "A *good portly* figure, and an excellent walker. He breathed short like his eldest brother Stephen, Lord Holland, and had a true *good* military air." "He thinks," she added, "America *cannot* be conquered, and laughs at the folly of supposing it; he says the Americans never plunder without leave: he don't say so of the English."² If Fox was in the habit

¹ Through Lady Holland's influence, Sydney Smith had in 1806, been given the living of Foston-le-Clay in Yorkshire by Lord Chancellor Erskine. When he went to thank the great lawyer, the latter said, "Oh, dont thank *me*, Mr Smith. I gave you the living because Lady Holland insisted on my doing so; and if she had desired me to give it to the devil, *he* must have had it." (*The Smith of Smiths*, p. 140.)

² *Lady Sarah Lennox*, i, 295.



GENERAL THE HON. HENRY EDWARD FOX, 1800
From a painting by J.W. Chandler



of openly enunciating such doctrines, it is somewhat surprising to find that he was very cordially received by the King, and was appointed one of his Aides-de-camp in 1783. In 1786 he married Marianne, daughter of William Clayton, of Harleyford, and sister of Sir William Clayton, fourth baronet, a union which proved a very happy one. We have an account of the lady from Holland when at Eton, aged thirteen, in a letter to his sister :—

I dined with my uncle Harry. He said to me as we were going there, "Dear Harry, you are now about to dine with a lady whom I hope will be your aunt." She is an accomplished young lady of about twenty-three. She can draw, play, dance, and I believe sing very well. She is a tall woman, of very good figure, but not very handsome, not having enough red and being a little inclined to be yellow. But Mum ! you will think I am scandalous. I only hope that she is good-hearted, which quality in a wife my Uncle well deserves. The only thing I object to is that a year is too short an acquaintance for a match ; but the fashions and times think otherwise.

Fox greatly distinguished himself in the Flanders campaign of 1793 and 1794. He was appointed General in the Mediterranean in 1801, with headquarters in Minorca, but in 1803 was made Commander-in-Chief in Ireland. Unfortunately for him, the rebellion of Robert Emmet broke out within six weeks of his arrival. The blame was put on his shoulders, most unfairly, as it would appear from letters written on the spot ; yet the Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Hardwicke, went so far as to insist on his removal. It seems that no information whatever was sent to Fox until three o'clock on the afternoon of the rising ; notwithstanding the fact that the Castle had been warned three days before of what was likely to happen, and had refused to believe or to take any precautions.

General Fox was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Gibraltar in 1804, and took over the command ; since the

nominal Governor, the Duke of Kent, was never permitted to be in residence there after 1803. He was placed in charge in Sicily in 1806, and acted at the same time as Ambassador in Naples. But his health was failing, and he returned home in 1807. Mrs Fox too was in a very bad way, and died in September 1808. Fox survived till 1811, and died from a mortification of his foot. Holland wrote of his uncle,¹ "He was a kind, affectionate and reasonable man, without brilliant talents or extraordinary attainments, and with very bounded ambition: he had opinions on public matters more favourable to freedom than is common in his profession, and a stronger mind than his friends, or perhaps he himself ever suspected."

His picture at Holland House, head and shoulders in uniform, has always been reputed to be by Hoppner, but is clearly the one which Holland mentioned in the autumn of 1799, as about to be painted by Chandler.

J. W. Chandler was said to be a natural son of George, Earl of Warwick, and died in confinement in 1804 or 1805 before the age of thirty. He showed very distinct promise as a portrait painter, and went to Scotland about the end of the century. There apparently he owed his life to the skill and kindness of Allen. Miss Fox wrote of him to her brother in 1802 from Warwick Castle, "Poor man, I am afraid he has another illness out of which he does not know well how to extricate himself—that of Poverty. He is living here at present, the picture of melancholy."

A son, Henry Stephen, born in 1791, survived General Fox, and two daughters, one of whom, Louisa, married Sir Henry Edward Bunbury: the other, Caroline, General Sir William Napier. Harry, as he was known in the family, had been looked after in his holidays by the Charles James Foxes in the absence of his parents abroad, and after their death was constantly at St Anne's Hill.

¹ *Further Memoirs*, p. 110.

A visitor who spent most of those weeks at Portsmouth with the family was Pierre Étienne Dumont. His name occurs as a guest at Holland House as early as 1799, when Lady Holland wrote, "He has all the good and none of the bad qualities of a Genèveois. . . . All the *agréments* I bestow on him are the due of an amiable, enlightened, polished *homme de lettres* of Paris."¹ So often was he at Holland House that a room was at one time set aside for him, and came to be known by his name, as had been the case at Bowood in the days of the first Marquess. He was a friend of Romilly, and was originally a Protestant pastor in St Petersburg, until induced to come to England by Lord Lansdowne as tutor to Lord Henry Petty. He first met Bentham at Bowood, and, as we have seen, carried hero-worship to such a pitch, that for many years his own life's work was sacrificed to arranging and systematizing the writings of his friend. Many of his intimates believed that his self-sacrifices went too far; while Lady Holland suggested that he was probably better qualified to adorn the *belles lettres* with just criticism than to define the Penal Code.² Whishaw wrote to her in 1813, "I had a conversation with Miss Edgeworth the other evening about Dumont, whom she admires very much, but laments with us his strange devotion to Bentham. She told me that she had been urging him to emancipate himself from this slavery, but that he would not argue the question, and desired her to desist."

Miss Fox said of Dumont in 1804, "He is quite delightful travelling, the very best portable library that can be conceived. He is excessively positive what is or what is not worth seeing, but always good-humoured and ready to amuse and be amused." Many years later Lauderdale wrote to Lady Holland, "Your friend Dumont said truly, 'Il y a des hommes qu'on déteste pour le mal qu'ils font ;

¹ *Journal*, i, 229.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 24. And see *ante* p. 109.

il y en a d'autres qu'on *plaint* pour le mal au quel ils se prêtent' ; and I am afraid that I cannot divest myself of the idea that many of those I like belong to this latter class."

The Hollands returned to Kensington on October 30, 1810, to find Parliament again unexpectedly involved in a crisis of the first magnitude. The King had developed a fresh attack of illness from which he never recovered. His condition varied from day to day. Continual adjournments of both Houses took place, until it was announced in December that a Regency had become definitely necessary. The Whigs as usual were divided. Grenville took one view ; while Grey, Lauderdale, Tierney, Bedford and Lansdowne sided against him, and were constantly dining or sleeping at Holland House during those weeks.

Unfortunately during the critical portion of December, when the Regency Bill was before Parliament, Grey was absent in Northumberland, where another child had just been born to Lady Grey. Consequently, most of the responsibility for debates in the Lords fell upon Holland and Lansdowne. The former has described the complicated situations, as they arose, at some length in his *Memoirs* ;¹ and we need here say no more than that the Whig expectations of a change of Ministry, which were high in December and in the first month of 1811, were doomed to disappointment. Lady Bessborough spoke of Lady Holland as already having the cares of office upon her !

At the end of January, Lords Grey and Grenville, who were to outward appearances reunited by their desire for office, informed the Prince of Wales, by that time Regent, that they were prepared to form a Government, if he so wished, and if the result of a fresh inquiry into the state of the King's health showed that his recovery was still a matter of improbability. They had reckoned, however,

¹ *Further Memoirs*, p. 71 *et seq.*

without his advisers, especially Sheridan, who had always received the cold-shoulder from them, and was far too clever not to have realized it. The Regent more and more noticeably drew back, influenced by his hints and insinuations, as well as by the contrivances employed by the Queen to magnify the hopes of the King's return to a reasonable state of health. Moreover, the views of the two Lords were not to his satisfaction on several of the leading questions of the day, notably Catholic Emancipation and the restoration of the Duke of York to his post of Commander-in-Chief, from which he had been removed at the time of the scandals connected with Mrs Clarke. The Regent undoubtedly seemed to discover a better chance of accommodation in the attitude of Perceval and Eldon : and in the end notified the former that he had decided to continue him in office, ostensibly on the grounds of fluctuations in his father's illness.

Holland wrote to Grey in August 1811, that two things were clearly proved to his satisfaction, " First, that H.R.H. has a strong disinclination to bringing in Grenville and you, i.e., that he has a great dread of a strong administration, or, in the Tory way of expressing it, has no notion of submitting to put himself in trammels. Secondly, that he wishes to preserve his consistency on the Catholic questions, or, in other words, dreads the abuse and discredit which would be the consequence of his abandoning his professions on that subject." In this Holland appears to have had the gift of prophecy, for he was frequently questioned later in the year by Sheridan, as to whether any of the old Foxites would be willing to take high office without Grey and Grenville. He invariably returned the same reply, that if the Prince intended to form an Administration of his old friends either one of the two lords or Ponsonby, as leader of the House of Commons, must be summoned.¹

¹ *Further Memoirs*, p. 108.

The family had moved to Pall Mall on the last day of 1810, and returned to Holland House on April 10, 1811. Three weeks later, on the 29th, an entry in the Dinner Books, in Lady Holland's handwriting, reads as follows, "Mr. Allen drew the lot of *God's Gift* in the College Church at Dulwich, by which he became Warden of that community. He dined at Dulwich." This marks Allen's first association with "*God's Gift College*," as the founder, Edward Alleyn, termed it in 1619. His connection with that foundation lasted in one capacity or another until his death.

Three dinners of that year may be cited, as typical of the entertainments which were in vogue at Holland House at that time. They are selected at random. Lord and Lady Boringdon, Duke of Leinster, Lord Archibald Hamilton, Lord Stanley, Mr Frederick Byng,¹ Lord Gower, Mr Bathurst, Lord Wm Fitzgerald, Mr Luttrell, Mr and Mrs Beauclerk, Mr Frere, and Mr Rogers dined on April 18. (The last four slept there.) On May 22 the party consisted of Lord and Lady Jersey, Lady Westmorland, Mr and Mrs Macdonald, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Ebrington, Sir John Craddock, Mr John Villiers, Mr Wellesley, Mr Macdonald, Lord Buckinghamshire. On June 11 we read, "Lord Grey, Lord Lauderdale, Mr Tierney, Mr Horner, Mr S. Smith, Mr Marsh. (The last three slept.) Charles returned from the sea."

Two or three large dinners appear to have been the order of the evening in most weeks, with one or two smaller ones, often with two to four guests staying for the night. The family dined out occasionally, or went to one of the playhouses. The entry, "No strangers," certainly does not occur more than once a week, so lavish was the hospitality dispensed at this period. Dinner guests at Holland House were invited for hours varying from five o'clock to seven,

¹ "Poodle" Byng.

usually six or six-thirty. The meal was served in the *Gilt Room*, and it seems probable that the guests usually passed through it to assemble in the *Sir Joshua Room*, earlier known as the "Blue," and later the "Green" Drawing Room. After dinner a move for coffee was usually made to the *Library*, especially in the warmer months; and the evening was spent there. The present *Yellow Drawing Room*, between the *Gilt Room* and the *Library*, was at times used for breakfast.

The Hollands paid a flying visit to Henry Fox at Hinkley in August. Whilst there Lady Holland was brought face to face with George Canning, who had a house close by and had shown much kindness to the boy during his stay in the locality. From Lady Bessborough's account of the episode,¹ Lady Holland was distinctly perturbed at the meeting, shaking hands with a scarlet face, and seemingly suffering from a guilty conscience on account of the abuse which she had recently been showering upon him!

Canning was never *persona grata* with the Whig Party in general. They looked upon him as unreliable and unprincipled. We have already traced the commencement of Canning's friendship with Holland, and have shown how unwilling the latter had been to break with him when he joined Pitt's standard. But beyond an occasional dinner at Holland House in early days, there was subsequently little real cordiality between them. One evening in 1821 Canning had come to town unexpectedly, and was brought to Kensington by Charles Ellis. The fact was then disclosed that he had not been inside its doors for fifteen years.

His behaviour in 1807 before the fall of Lord Grenville's Ministry had not inspired the Whigs with confidence. He made overtures to Grenville, but, whilst those negotiations

¹ Lord G. Leveson-Gower, ii, 393.

were still in progress, was discovered to be flirting with Perceval. Indeed, according to Lauderdale, he declared off with Grenville on the very day when he became acquainted with the King's decision on the Catholic Question. "Canning has been perfectly uniform," he wrote, "in his conduct, proving by every act of his life the discernment of Sheridan's groom, who, on being told by his butler many years ago that he had laid a plate too few at table, enumerated the company he supposed was to dine, and on being informed that he had forgot Mr Canning, said, 'D—n that fellow ! He has impudence for anything. What ! Come here and dine with my Master, after deserting all the principles that you and I have heard him so often hold forth upon' !"

Rumours, in which Holland put no faith, that Canning had been approached by the Prince in 1811, and very distinct advances from him to the Whigs in 1812 after Perceval's assassination, did not help his relations with them. Yet Holland spoke of his views on the Catholic Question at that time as reasonably satisfactory. They were not always to be so described ; and Brougham summed up the various attitudes which Canning had adopted, in a letter to Holland in March 1829, after the Catholic Emancipation Bill had received the Royal assent. He was annoyed that Peel and others had stated that the ultimate passing of the Bill was chiefly due to Canning, and wrote :—

There never was anything so unjust, indeed so totally unthinking. C. made some half-dozen good speeches on it ; never sacrificed or even risked anything for it, except doing in 1812 what Pitt did in 1801, or rather not so much : and afterwards, like Pitt, coming in without a word in its favour. To compare this with what Lord Grenville and L^d Grey, etc., did is monstrous. Indeed, Burdett has done more good in the question by many degrees, and he never raised the No-Popery cry as C. did in 1807 and tried to do again in 1825. Such unjust praise is quite provoking.

An interesting sidelight on Canning's views on Parliamentary Reform, and on Imperialism many years before its time, is given in a letter from Hookham Frere to Holland at the time of the Reform Bill in 1831 :—

He was resolved, whenever the means and opportunity offered, to introduce an alteration in the frame of the House of Commons. His object was the consolidation of our Colonial Empire, by the introduction of a dozen, not more, deputies from those colonies of which the whole population is of European origin, and which, not having (like the West Indies) great proprietors resident in England and possessing seats in Parliament, do not enjoy the advantage of even a virtual representation.

The Spanish mission, or rather those of the original envoys who were left in England, dined at Holland House early in September, 1811. On that occasion the Duke of Infantado, one of the best-known Spaniards in the Peninsular War, was also present. He and the Hollands had become very intimate during their last residence in Spain; and during his stay in England at this time, which lasted for about six months, he was constantly dining in Kensington. Holland summed him up as a very bad general, but able in other respects, and a charming companion. Another of the same nationality, Juan Arriaza was often in Kensington at that time. He first became known to the Hollands in 1803 in Spain, and came to England as Secretary of Legation. He had been originally in the Navy, but lost an eye, and was unable to continue in the service. He was a writer of some merit, especially in verse. He escaped with difficulty from the French in Madrid in 1809.

During those months, too, we find John Hookham Frere a constant guest, often staying for a week or more at a time. He was some four years older than Holland, and had been associated with Canning at Eton in the publication of the *Microcosm*, and also subsequently in the *Anti-Jacobin*.

He succeeded his friend as Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs early in 1799 ; and on that occasion Lady Holland wrote, " We had Frere, the first time since his appointment to Canning's place. Since favouritism is à l'ordre du jour, I am rather glad he is a sharer, tho' I think he cannot make a good man of business. He is *distract* and poetical, and in lieu of a dispatch may be tempted to pen a sonnet." ¹ Her remarks well corroborate the picture which her husband paints of him in his Memoirs.² Frere's accomplishments were literary to a high degree ; but the active career which he had chosen was diplomacy, and in that direction his talents were not displayed to their best advantage. He fell foul of the Prince of the Peace, Godoy, the Prime Minister of Spain, during his first Embassy to that country, and was recalled in 1804, after two years. Lady Holland wrote of him, when in Madrid in the autumn of 1803 :—

Frere now, in addition to thinking himself graceful is become persuaded of his *beauty*, having had various portraits of himself in buckish dresses, especially the cocked hat and Spanish cloak : and his eccentricities are a source of perpetual amusement ; but the mirth which he causes he does not share, as he is keenly alive to ridicule and colours *quite* red at any notice being taken of them, which unfortunately for him is only aggravating the laugh. He lives with a few obscure Spaniards and some French emigrants, who eat his dinners and fill his head with lies of counter-revolution, as he is still in hopes of some successful aristocratic Messiah, not having, from his abhorrence to the whole nation, kept pace with French politics. His brother ³ is a remarkably sedate, sensible, well-bred young man, and his society is really very agreeable. He is here every day, and indeed so is Frere, when not at the *Siteo*.

The British Government, however, recognised Frere's

¹ *Journal*, i, 243.

² *Further Memoirs*, p. 19, *et seq.*

³ Bartholomew Frere.

services with a pension and a Privy Counsellorship ; and the position in Spain had become greatly changed. By the end of 1808 the name of Godoy was received with execration by the Spanish public ; and Frere's re-appointment as Ambassador in that year seemed reasonable enough. In the sequel, however, the faulty information which he supplied to Sir John Moore was largely responsible for the latter's advance into Spain, and for his subsequent disastrous retreat on Coruña. Even Frere's friend Canning was powerless to defend him, and superseded him by the appointment of Lord Wellesley. Holland, on the spot, took his side and spoke of his recall as, "to the greatest degree unmanly in his friends and unjust in his enemies." Yet even he allowed that in manners, in mode of life, and in many other particulars, Frere was quite unfitted for the career which he had chosen. This time Frere remained on good terms with the Spaniards, and before his return to England was created "Marquis de la Union" by the Central Junta, a title hardly in keeping with his diplomatic record ! This was Frere's last post. He had succeeded to property in the Eastern counties at his father's death in 1807 ; and remained in England for some years.

In 1812 Frere gave Holland a copy of the first edition of Camoens' *Luciadas*, printed in 1572. On the title-page is an account of his death, written by a former owner of the book, apparently a certain Fray Joseph Indio, who was an eye-witness of the great Portuguese poet's miserable end without a sheet or blanket to cover him. This treasure is still in the *Library* at Holland House.

In 1816 Frere married Elizabeth Jemima, Dowager-Countess of Erroll. Two years later they went abroad for the benefit of her health, and finally settled permanently in Malta. There Frere occupied himself with work which was really congenial to him, translations of Aristophanes and Theognis.

RELATIONS AND FRIENDS

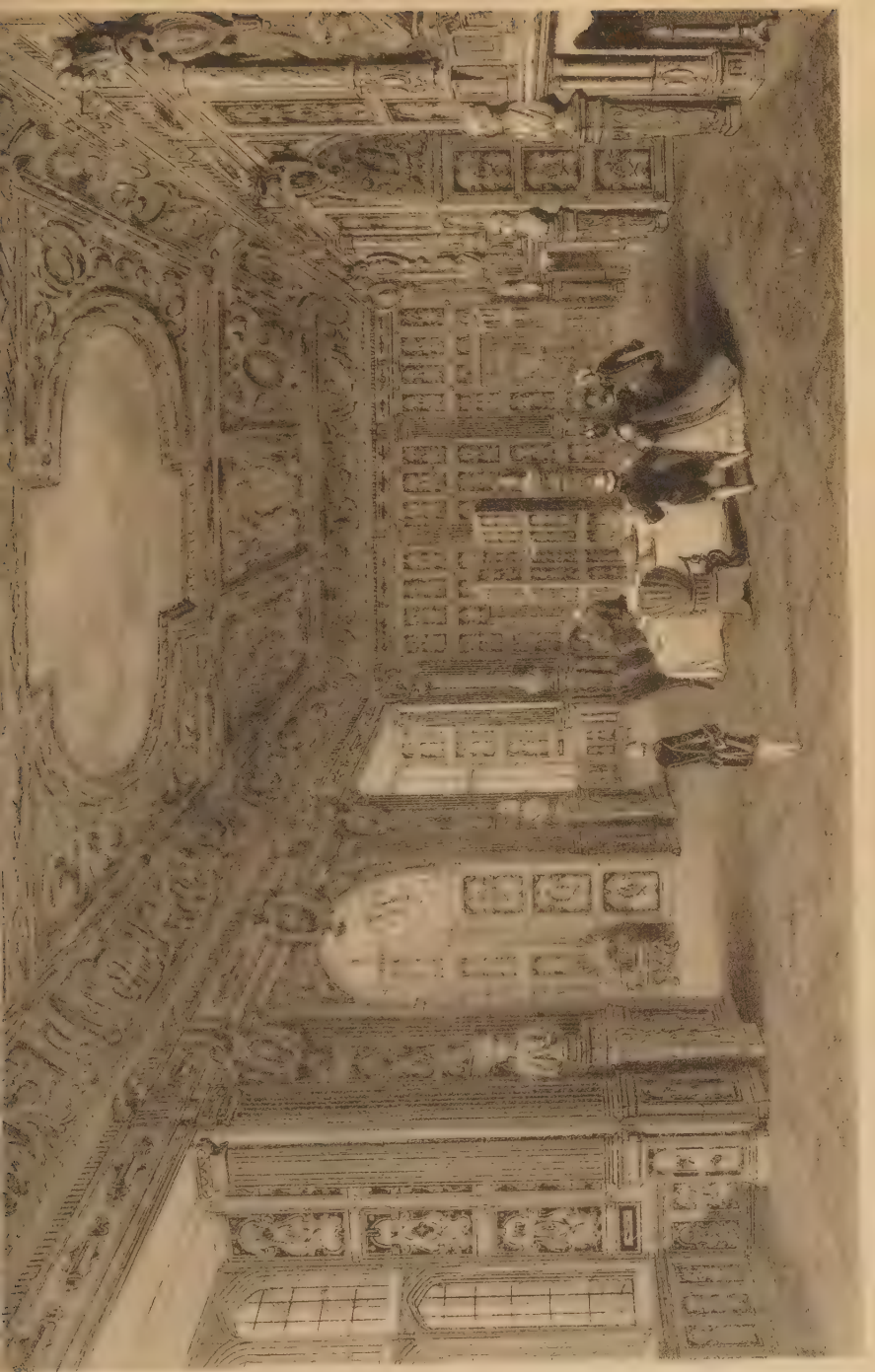
The following lines written by Frere on Lady Erroll are perhaps worth recording :—

Sometimes Darcimente lies musing in bed,
With conundrums of verses and books in his head.
I durst not go near him nor venture to speak
For fear of disturbing his Latin and Greek.
It makes me detest the revival of learning,
And I wish all the books had been lost at the burning
Of the Library there that the thingambobs made,
At the place (I forget) that was famous for trade,
Whose kings then in Egypt a great while ago,
And then the Mahometans burn'd it—you know.

Charles Fox wrote of a visit to Frere and his wife in 1825. "Frere is as agreeable, as absent and as strange as ever. His house is a strange rabbit-warren, full of bad servants and beggars and petitioners of all sorts. L^y Erroll is as kind as possible to us."

In the autumn of 1826 Frere was back in England, staying with the Hollands at Ampthill. Miss Fox wrote to her nephew, Henry Fox :—

We have Sir James Mackintosh and *Frere*, who when awake is brilliant and delightful, but he takes his full portion of slumber, morning, noon and night. However, one whole evening of invincible sleep (invincible by all the punching of my lady's fan, calling, etc.), was gloriously redeemed the following night, by keeping us up listening, delighted and attentive, first to his recitation of his translation of a very old Spanish poem, and afterwards his translation of Aristophanes's *Birds*, a strange and almost incomprehensible mixture of nonsense, humour, satire and sense, but which his easy versification, the delightful playfulness of his varying metre, and happy choice of rhymes, made very amusing. It is really marvellous his command of words and readiness in rhymes. They fit in at once, just when one might expect him to be at a loss.





A few days later she wrote :—

Rogers calls Sir James, Frere and Allen, the three Phænomena—the Triumvirate : and he says they make themselves very busy in settling dates nobody cares for, and think when they entertain one another they entertain other people, but perhaps that is a mistake. “I wonder what Frere’s about. I daresay he is in his own room repeating his own verses in an extasy. He is always in an extasy. A very happy delusion for him, He is quite satisfied.” The truth is the excellent little poet is just now stung to madness with the success of Sir James (and Frere especially) ; the young ladies, as well as the older ones, being delighted with his fun, his oddity and his verses.

Frere’s portrait in the *Journal Room* is by Sir Martin Archer Shee. It was specially painted for Holland in 1820, just before the sitter sailed for the Mediterranean. Shee, he said, would have preferred one more sitting. Yet the likeness must have been good ; for Gabriele Rossetti, the father of the painter of that name, saw it at Holland House in 1824, and wrote that it was so lifelike that he could almost hear his words.¹ Enamel miniatures also of Frere and his brother Bartholomew, by L’Eveque, hang in the *Miniature Room*, while his bust in marble by Chantrey stands in the *Entrance Hall*, dated 1817. “Let me thank you,” Frere wrote in 1837 to Holland, “on my own part and that of my bust, for the honorable position which you have assigned to it. For in spite of a great deal of natural, homely leaven inherent in my character, I have always had a great fancy for good company, more especially in a dining room, the very post to which you have promoted me. I often think of it and its little panels of wainscot, etc.” It was originally, therefore, in the *Gilt Room*, and C. J. Richardson’s illustration in his *Architectural Remains* shows busts arranged round the walls.

Lascelles Hoppner, the painter’s second son, was a guest

¹ J. H. Frere and his Friends, by Gabrielle Festing, p. 301.

on several occasions in October. Holland had known him in Seville where he was studying Murillo's pictures, and where we are told incidentally that he rode in a horse race. "He is one of the best draughtsmen," wrote Holland, "I ever saw, and will preserve in his drawings many examples of Murillo, which the barbarous monks are allowing to rot on those walls." A view of Seville in oils, painted by him in 1809, and also a small crayon copy of a fresco by Murillo, *The Apotheosis of Santa Clara*, are at Holland House. This series of frescoes of the Saint's life were painted in the small cloister of San Francisco in Seville, and were destroyed by fire in 1811. Even in 1809 they were in a bad state of repair. Young Hoppner came to an untimely end. He became insane shortly after the period of which we speak, and died in an asylum.

It is not to our purpose to dip deeply into the political whirlpool which characterised the year 1812. The Regent made two overtures to the Whig Lords, one before, one after the assassination of Spencer Perceval in May. Both came to naught; and the Government of the country was finally entrusted to Lord Liverpool. Before that point was reached, however, Lord Wellesley, who had resigned the Foreign Secretaryship early in the year, had been ordered to form a National Government, but found it impossible to come to terms with the conflicting parties. Wellesley had never been on terms of intimacy with Holland, although they were largely in agreement on several of the vital questions of the day, notably the earnest prosecution of the war in the Peninsula and the removal of Catholic disabilities. He dined on more than one occasion at Holland House during the summer of 1812. His presence there, and the surprise shown by Charles Fox, in a letter from his ship in the Mediterranean, at the tolerance which

occasioned it, brought upon the latter a long homily from his father :—

Why are politics *a sad thing*, because L^d Wellesley has dined with me ? Is it not possible to like a man's company, and yet not approve of his politics ? Is it not possible to like a man's conduct on one occasion, and disapprove of it on another ? If on different occasions, why not at different times ? We are *not* connected with L^d Wellesley in politics : but surely, if we were to happen to agree with him on what ought to be done in America, in Spain, in Ireland or in England, it would be a very bad reason to refuse his assistance in doing it, because six years ago his conduct in India was such as we could not approve : or because he justified the seizure of the ships at Copenhagen and supported a Ministry which now no longer exists, or which, if it can be said to exist now, he opposes and disapproves of as much as we do. You might just as well maintain that England is a strange, sad kind of a Nation, because her fleets go into Cadiz and Alicant and her troops land to defend the Spaniards in 1812, when in 1805 she attacked their navy and plundered their ships. For my part I own I like L^d Wellesley very much, and even when he was in Ministry admired and praised much of his conduct. But sad things as politics are, they are not, I assure you, with me such intolerant things as your system would make all the world. I may differ with a man on one thing, and yet act cordially with him about another. I may disagree with a man's politics and enjoy his society at dinner : I may hold opposite opinions with a man in religion and yet have full confidence both in his integrity and ability. But my little Charles has got a fancy that it is wrong to feel any good will to those whom one has once opposed, and that it is either foolish or wicked (I do not know which) to entrust a ship to a man who has a different opinion about the Virgin Mary and the Sacrament from ourselves.

Charles Fox's letters were giving his father much reason for anxious thought during that year. After three years in the Navy, he was becoming more and more disillusioned

and dissatisfied with life at sea. He was constantly writing home that he was quite decided that he would like to exchange that career for some other. But for what? queried Holland. What was that profession to be? He urged the boy not to be so hasty in deciding on his aversion to his present work as he had originally been in deciding that he would like it. The church would not do for him. "He was fitted neither by habit nor temper to so dull, insipid and inglorious a life." For the law, he was well adapted in point of talent and powers of application. "But the privations and weariness of it are, I assure you, as great and greater than those in the Navy, and are much more difficult though not less necessary to endure, as you have it in your power at all moments to yield to the temptations of idleness." The army alone was left, but on this possibility Holland was adamant at the time, going even so far as to threaten his definite *veto*. "The absence, and occasionally the hardships of the army are as bad as those of the navy; the temptations to expense, the danger of bad company much greater, and, what I confess would weigh more strongly with me, your health more exposed to the consequences both of bad climate and intemperance and excess than any other profession. In short, I do not think you have constitution for the army and I do not believe that you would supply the defect by great caution and self-command, if you were exposed to temptation."

Holland quoted good reports of the progress which Charles was making in his profession and his popularity with his shipmates, as arguments to persuade him to continue where he was, but was countered by persistent denials of the advantages and amenities of a naval career. To this he replied:—

If I was not afraid of flattering too much, I should answer your argument on the tendency of a sea-life to brutalize the nature and stupify the understanding, in a way that some

admirer of Dr Swift answered his ingenious and lively treatise which endeavoured to prove the superiority of the ancients over the moderns.

“ Since Swift for the ancients has argued so well,
’Tis apparent from thence that the *Moderns* excel.”

“ Since Charles ’gainst the Navy so ably has writ,
’Tis clear it’s a school most propitious to wit.”

Now what say you to that ? Will you affect stupidity and act the dunce, to prove that what you say is true ?

In the end Holland gave way, so far at least as to allow Charles to come home in order to discuss the whole situation. He was influenced perhaps by an outspoken letter from the Admiral commanding the Station, who said that the boy really knew very little about his profession. Charles’s own preference was for the army, but he decided, in view of his father’s opposition, to study the law, and did so conscientiously for nearly two years. By the autumn of 1815, however, we find a letter from his father addressed to him at Chatham, an ensign in 85th Light Infantry. We print it as a characteristic example of the humour and the spirit of banter which Holland at times affected in his intimate correspondence.

You *must* have been in a hurry, for you had no time to write such useless letters as *K* and *W*, and spelt the word *know no*, and the word *two to*. I augur well from your repugnance to *Ws* and *Ks*, and hope you will avoid them in your conduct, as you do in your epistles. Perhaps you are so far gone in false orthography as not to understand this bad joke, and are like one Hornsby at Oxford, who gave us a toast, the three *H’s*, and when asked for an explanation, said “Hounds, Horses and Hores.” Your objection to *Ks* is not, Allen trusts, to *Kings*, but to *Knaves*. The same letter unfortunately stands for both.¹

¹ An allusion to Allen’s anti-monarchical sentiments.

Further rearrangements, both inside and outside Holland House, were in progress in the winter of 1812-13. A new fence in the garden on the North side was mentioned, "iron, pretty and cheap." The last two ponds in "the Moats," near the site of the original Manor house of "West Towne," were thrown into one. Bonaiuti's "Portuguese garden," now known as the "Dutch garden," on the West side of the House between it and the original stables, was being planned and executed. The furnishing of the new room above Henry's apartment, on the first floor opening out of the *Library*, now the *Inner Library*, was under consideration. The busts of Charles James Fox and Ariosto were to be placed there, "and their appropriate ornaments, books." Mahogany bookcases, therefore, were to be put in hand by Reynolds, the house-carpenter. The work, however, had perforce to be postponed owing to lack of funds. A recent hurricane in Jamaica, and the consequent damage to Lady Holland's property there, was the special and immediate cause.

On the first floor of the East wing, too, Lady Holland took as her sitting-room the long room at the South end. It has remained a sitting-room ever since, but at that time was known as Mrs Brown's Room. She was for many years Lady Holland's maid and subsequently became housekeeper.

CHAPTER XIII

1812-1816

BYRON AND THE HOLLANDS

THE reopening of Drury Lane Theatre which had been burnt down in February 1809, took place on October 10, 1812. Covent Garden Theatre, curious to relate, had suffered the same fate in 1808 some months before its rival, and was reopened in 1810. A Joint-stock Company was formed to obtain funds for the rebuilding of Drury Lane, and a Committee was appointed, of which Holland was a member. But the whole initiative and direction was undertaken by Samuel Whitbread. Sheridan and his family were bought out of the new concern ; and the stipulation that he should have nothing to do with it was strictly enforced, much to his surprise.

The Committee incautiously offered a prize for an Address to be delivered at the opening ceremony. Holland wrote to Charles Fox :—

We had for our sins the reading of a hundred addresses, none of which were fit to be spoken. Lord Byron helped us out of the scrape by furnishing us with one which was really poetical, and, though not quite new and somewhat perhaps too long, much better than could have been expected on so hackneyed a theme. These events have given rise to a very humerous production, *The Rejected Addresses*, written in imitation of the style of various poets. They are caricatured very successfully. . . . The author's names, for there are two, are Smith. They are brothers, one a Merchant, and one an Attorney ; and I am to make acquaintance with them on Sunday.

"One of them," wrote Holland in December, "dined lately at our house, and I thought him very agreeable."

The Hollands were present on the opening night in their box. For that winter they had made a joint arrangement to share it with Lord and Lady Spencer, who had one at Covent Garden, taking alternative weeks at each theatre. Holland spoke of Drury Lane as, "by far the most beautiful playhouse and the best for seeing the scenery and actors that I ever was in. Nor is it bad for hearing." It was the conception of Wyatt, and that structure, with additions, remains to this day. He related that Byron, when he agreed to write the Address, said, "I will try, but how shall I avoid that d—d Phoenix? We must not for the world have a feather of that rare bird, which is become as commonplace as a turtle-dove."¹ "Tell Ly H.," Byron wrote to Holland, "I have sad work to keep out the Phoenix. I mean the *fire office* of that name. It has *insured* the theatre, and why not the Address?"

The correspondence of this date preserved at Holland House between Byron and Holland, much of which is reproduced by Mr Prothero (now Lord Ernle) in Byron's *Letters and Journals*, shows that Holland took his share in the final wording of the Address. His criticisms were taken in good part; and a number of his suggested alterations were adopted by the poet. In one particular direction, too, his persistence had its way. He wrote on September 21, 1812:—

Pray let me entreat you in the name of Drury Lane and her Committee, of Thalia and Melpomene, to take pity on us. There is no objection to the compliment to Mrs Siddons or the slap at the young Roscius. I own, notwithstanding all his faults, moral and political, I am such an admirer of genius that I should like to see a couplet in compliment to Sheridan. He *was* you know our Manager, and so was *Garrick*.

¹ *Further Memoirs*, p. 163.

Elliston, the well-known actor, was Byron's choice to deliver the Address, but does not seem to have proved an unqualified success. To quote Holland :—

When I wrote from the theatre, I wished to give you as favourable an impression of Elliston, as well as the publick, as I could consistently with truth, and attributed both his incorrectness and bad speaking to nervousness, noise of an opening and crowded theatre, and what not, but I fear from what I hear he has continued to murder rather than recite it. He read it well to me, but he evidently did not *then* understand it, and he repeats it imperfectly and ill.

Byron was somewhat perturbed at its reception by some of the newspapers, “ My friend Perry ¹ has indeed ‘ Et tu, Brute’d ’ me rather scurvily, for which I will send him for y^e M.C. the next epigram I scribble as a token of my full forgiveness.” But Holland was able to console him. “ Perry is a coxcomb, and, as he printed a song of Tierney’s once like prose, is not to be considered as an oracle.”

In a letter to Holland in 1813, Samuel Rogers sent some doggerel stanzas, “ which appear to have been intended for an inscription, to commemorate the part which Whitbread had played in the rebuilding of the Theatre.” They run as follows :—

When on the spot so dear to Fame,
(Where oft and long a Garrick spoke),
The gorgeous pile dissolved in flame,
And on its ashes morning broke.

One man restored it. He alone
Gave all that here enchants us birth ;
And here would we record in stone
Our gratitude and Whitbread’s worth.

Whitbread had written one of the rejected addresses, in which Sheridan said that he had made more of the Phoenix

¹ The editor of the *Morning Chronicle*.

than any of the others ; “ He entered into particulars, described its wings, beak, tail—in short it was a poulterer’s description of a Phoenix.”¹

We read Whitbread’s name in the record of visitors at Holland House in 1802, but it only occurs in them at long intervals. He and a few partisans held a lonely and isolated position in the Whig Party. He disliked Lord Grenville : and even with Grey, whose sister he married, he was on bare terms of cordiality. Between him and Holland little real intimacy appears to have existed, outside the affinities of a limited co-operation in politics. Yet the latter wrote of him to Caroline Fox, after the tragedy of his suicide in 1815, with real feeling and deep regret.

Never was I more sincerely sorry at any event than at the death of poor Whitbread and the manner of it. . . . His sudden death would indeed have been hardly unexpected, for his whole appearance indicated strongly for some years past, that he was destined so to die ; but he was the last man whom I would have apprehended to die as he did. . . . He is a great public, perhaps a yet greater private loss ; and it is no light homage to him, and indeed to virtue itself, that amidst such numerous losses as have lately oppressed the public, his death should be so universally and sincerely felt as a misfortune.

On June 24, 1812, Lady Holland was delivered of another daughter, who only lived a few hours. She remained very unwell all the autumn ; and, in order to give her a change, a move in November was made to a house in St James’s Square, the children remaining in Kensington. An unexpected dissolution of Parliament took place on September 29. In the ensuing elections many of the leading Whigs lost their seats. Tierney, Francis Horner, William Lamb, Brougham, Sharp, Sheridan and Sir Robert Adair were amongst the victims.

¹ *Rogers and his Contemporaries*, i, 128.

Lady Holland's eldest son, Sir Godfrey Webster, at the age of twenty-three, was elected for the county of Sussex without a contest. Holland wrote that he did not know what line in politics the young man was taking. Indeed, they had been allowed to see little of him; but how far his guardian's refusal to allow free intercourse between him and his mother affected his character and career, it is difficult to say.¹ The only one of her Webster family who seems to have been on any terms of intimacy with Holland House was her second son, Henry.

The reports from his master at school do not flatter Sir Godfrey. Yet Lord Paget, better known as Lord Anglesey, who was in command of the British cavalry under Sir John Moore, described, for Lady Holland's information, a brilliant episode in which her son took part, when serving in the 18th Light Dragoons. "Captain Jones and Sir Godfrey Webster at the head of 30 men attacked 100 of the enemy, killing 20, and took 5 prisoners. 'Twas a most gallant affair."

Sir Godfrey's regiment appears to have been brought home in 1809; and shortly after his return an introduction to Lady Caroline Lamb proved the precursor of a violent flirtation between them. Lady Holland thought fit to expostulate very frankly with the young lady, whom she had known from her cradle, and who, with her husband William Lamb, the future Prime Minister, and her mother Lady Bessborough, was often at Holland House. This intervention proved successful; for Lady Caroline confessed the error of her ways, and promised to see no more of Sir Godfrey. But in the course of the correspondence, she wrote one letter which reads as the composition of one demented, so closely does one insult overlap the next. Penitence swiftly followed. Another epistle retracting everything which she had said, succeeded the first

¹ See *ante*, pp. 172-3.

within a few hours ; and what is more she kept her word.

Sir Godfrey married, in 1814, Charlotte, daughter of Robert Adamson, but the Hollands were abroad at the moment of the wedding. His mother wrote at the time of his death in 1836, that he had been living under a feigned name, and that she had not seen him for many, many years. She spoke of Lady Webster as a charming woman, who had also been separated from him for a long period. " By great personal sacrifices and diligence, she had brought up a fine family of four boys with credit and success. She has kept the property and house as far as she could very advantageously together." Lady Webster died in 1867. General Charles Fox wrote at the time, that when she married she was one of the handsomest women he ever saw. Her father, he said, was a great claret merchant.

To this period of 1811, belongs the following letter, written by Lady Caroline to Lady Holland :—

Dear and beautiful Lady, are you not a little grieved at my absence ? That is what comes of *mésalliances*. I am like a flame of fire or a lamp of oil, and those I attach myself to—ice. Were I a poet, I should address you like Cowley, with all those pretty *metaphores* such subjects give rise to. But why freeze a little *Dame d'honneur* for a fault, if it be a fault, of which the best natures only are capable. I am like a vestal who thought of other concerns than the poor Flame she hoped Heaven would keep burning. Do not condemn me to being burned alive. Wait a little, and I shall return to dust without any unusual assistance.

Lady Caroline Lamb's first real introduction to Lord Byron took place at Holland House in the early months of 1812. This was a prelude to that liaison, lasting only a few short months, which gained such an unenviable notoriety. She had met him once before at Lady Westmoreland's, but turned away : and subsequently wrote in

her diary, "Mad, bad and dangerous to know."¹ Byron's first appearance in Kensington at a dinner was on February 27, 1812. He came there again on March 8; and on that occasion William Lamb was present, but no mention is made of Lady Caroline. The occasion of their meeting there, however, must have been about this time; for by the end of March we find that "Caro William," as she was often spoken of by her friends, was inditing long epistles to Byron.² On March 24 the Lambs and Byron dined at Holland House; and on May 8, Lady Caroline dined, and Byron "called in y^e evening."

Among Lady Caroline's letters to Lady Holland is one imploring her to speak lightly of the scene at a party in July 1813, when she cut or stabbed herself with a table knife.

For myself, it is of no consequence. I have long lost, and justly lost the opinion of others. My dishonour is compleat. I neither seek to excuse myself nor have my errors shar'd. All I wish is to clear from gross misrepresentations the most noble, the most generous of human beings. William Lamb has ruined himself by excess of kindness for me. I feel it, and I trust to the generosity of the few friends I have left that they will, as far as they can, do me the only favour I shall ever ask at their hands. I am willing to do anything that is thought right, but I am resolved never more to appear in society, for which I am wholly unfit. I also wish to say one word. It is asserted by all that my conduct was in consequence of Lord Byron having *slighted* me. It is said that I sought to renew my wrong attachment with him, and that because he would not, I attempted to stab myself. Do not judge a wretch like me. Do not for God's sake. But hear me, for I can have

¹ Torrens's *Life of Melbourne*, i, 103. M. André Maurois relates that Byron questioned Lady Caroline, on meeting her at Holland House, as to her reason for refusing to speak to him on the former occasion.

² *Lord Byron's Letters and Journals* (ed. Prothero), ii, 446.

no object in deceiving you. I do assure you before God that this is utterly false. I have no complaint to make against any human being. Everyone has been only too good to me. I am not bound to explain my conduct, but I am bound to deny what is utterly false. If Lord Byron could have behav'd with unkindness to the woman he once loved so truly, if he could have added taunts and reproaches to the sufferings he was at least the cause of her having endured, he was not worth a woman afflicting herself for ; and it is too hard, too cruel, to impute such an accusation to me, when I do not make it. I am told that I wish'd to ruin him, to revenge myself upon him—for what? For being first my lover, the truest and kindest that ever liv'd, and since then my preserver and my friend.

In the year of her death, 1828, we find a short letter from Lady Caroline to Lady Holland asking forgiveness for the past. Her husband had finally insisted upon a separation in 1825, after threatening many times to do so. "She was not mad," had written Lady Holland in 1824, when doubts were raised as to her sanity, "only wicked from temper and brandy." The latter had made every effort to assist her and to keep her in the straight path, but never forgave her for caricaturing her as the "Princess of Madagascar," in that amazing though tedious novel, *Glenarvon*, which Lady Caroline published in May 1816. "Every ridicule, folly and infirmity (my not being able from malady to move about much) is portrayed," to use Lady Holland's own words to Mrs Creevey.¹ Lady Caroline confessed, in a letter to Holland, that the offending passages would never have been published, had the Hollands not adopted a disapproving attitude regarding a further scandal in which she had involved herself a few weeks before, when she thrashed her unoffending page-boy. A passage in Lord Broughton's *Recollections* puts the matter in a nutshell.

¹ *Creevey Memoirs*, i, 255.

"In the evening Lady Holland showed me the letter to Lady Caroline Lamb that has caused all the commotion. She had said something to allay the rumour about the page. Lady Caroline wrote a foolish letter to thank her. Lady Holland returned a sensible note, begging her to think of her family and friends, and not expose them to similar trouble for the future. *This she said she could never forgive.*¹ The fact too that Holland chanced to meet her with cold looks—for she greatly valued his friendship, came upon her as a humiliation, and drove her to commit this outrage.

Byron too was pilloried in the book in the character of "Glenarvon," and, to a question from Madame de Staël at Coppet as to how he liked the description of him, he answered, "Il serait plus ressemblant, si j'avais voulu donner plus de séances !" Lady Caroline later proceeded to dramatise her work ; and the play was presented at the Surrey Theatre in 1819. Lauderdale wrote to Holland that the proprietor, as he was going to bed one night, received a letter with a £100 note enclosed and a request that the piece should be taken off. Lauderdale added that he did not put much faith in the story, as it rested on Lady Caroline's authority.

Byron's first reference to the Holland family in his writings was in his *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*. It was conceived in a spirit little different from Lady Caroline's literary outpourings.

Illustrious Holland ! hard would be his lot,
His hirelings mentioned, and himself forgot !
Holland, with Henry Petty at his back,
The whipper-in and huntsman of the pack.
Blest be the banquets spread at Holland House,
Where Scotchmen feed, and Critics may carouse !
Long, long beneath that hospitable roof,
Shall Grub-street dine, while duns are kept aloof.

¹ Lord Broughton's *Recollections of a Long Life*, i, 339.

BYRON AND THE HOLLANDS

See honest Hallam lay aside his fork,
 Resume his pen, review his Lordship's work :
 And, grateful for the dainties on his plate,
 Declare his landlord can at least translate !¹
 Dunedin ! view thy children with delight,
 They write for food—and feed because they write !
 And lest, when heated with the unusual grape,
 Some glowing thoughts should to the Press escape,
 And tinge with red the female reader's cheek,
 My Lady skims the cream of each critique,
 Breathes o'er the page her purity of soul,
 Reforms each error, and refines the whole.²

The whole satire was based on a complete misapprehension. Byron believed that a criticism which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* of his *Hours of Idleness*, had been written by Holland ; whereas in reality Brougham was the author. Rogers took the part of mediator a year or two later, in 1811, explained the position, and having received permission from both parties brought about an introduction. Byron was subsequently greatly indebted to Holland for assistance in the preparation of his maiden speech in the House of Lords in February 1812. Full of remorse he gave orders to his publishers to destroy the whole impression of the fifth edition of *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, and few copies have survived. "Bad enough and on mistaken grounds besides," was the poet's annotation on the offending page in his own copy, which has recently been reproduced in fac-simile by Sir John Murray for the Roxburghe Club.

Byron dined on several occasions at Holland House in 1813, and during that year consulted Holland about the proofs of the *Giaour*, which is dedicated to him, and *The*

¹ Holland had translated certain verses of Lope de Vega in his *Life* of the poet ; while his wife was said to have corrected some proofs of the *Edinburgh Review*.

² Lord Byron : *Poetry* (ed. Coleridge), i, 340.

Bride of Abydos. He also presented him with the manuscript of a "wild, rambling, unfinished rhapsody," called, *The Devil's Drive*, written in December.¹ He had founded it on *The Devil's Walk*, verses which he believed to be from Porson's pen, but which were in reality written by Coleridge and Southey.

Byron wrote to Holland on March 21, 1813 :—²

I will not leave this country without taking you by the hand and thanking you for many kindnesses. The fact is I can do no good anywhere, and am too patriotic not to prefer doing ill in any country rather than my own. Where I am going, I cannot positively say—and it is no great matter. "There is a world beyond Rome," and all parts of it are much the same to a personage with few friendships and no connections. My affairs are also not in the most brilliant order, and the sins of my nonage sit heavy upon my majority. I thought the sale of Newstead would relieve them, but it has merely led me within gunshot of a lawsuit. I have neither the verve nor the "*copia fandi*" to rival L^d Ellenborough in Molochlike declamation in the House ; and without occupation of some kind I cannot exist. Travel, therefore, is the only pursuit left me, though I have some notion of taking orders. "*Naxos*" I may perhaps visit, but "*Cyprus*" is an Island I have long been sick of.

A further letter, written on April 3, from Eywood, the country home of Lord and Lady Oxford, spoke of, "Other reasons not worth mentioning that may induce me to hasten my expedition. In the meantime, the snows of an English spring now falling around me add one more inducement to reconcile me to expatriation." Notwith-

¹ *Letters and Journals*, ii, 378 ; *Poetry*, vii, 21. Many of the stanzas were published in 1830. 6, 7, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19–27, occur only in the Holland House copy, and were first printed by Mr. Coleridge in 1904.

² This and the subsequent letters from Byron are now printed for the first time, by kind permission of the Legal Personal Representative of the sixth Lord Byron.

standing, these remarks, Byron stayed on in England, and did not go abroad until 1816.

In an upstairs *Sittingroom* at Holland House hang twelve small water-colour illustrations of Byron's earlier poems, by Thomas Stothard. The engravings of these by Charles Heath and other artists were used to illustrate Volumes I to IV of the Edition of 1818. They appear, from a letter from Byron, to have been presented by his publisher, John Murray, to Lady Byron in May 1815, although her husband added his appreciative thanks for them as well.¹ The story of their arrival in Kensington is explained in a paper attached to the back of one of the pictures.

These twelve drawings, illustrating Byron's poems, are by Stothard. They were engraved for Mr Murray's early edition, and were presented to Lord Byron by the publisher. During the difficulties that followed Lord Byron's marriage, they were sent to Holland House to avoid falling into the hands of the officers, who carried out the execution into his house in Piccadilly Terrace in the year 1816. They arrived at Holland House without note, message or address; and it was not till sometime afterwards that Lord Byron begged Lady Holland to accept them.

Byron had married Miss Milbanke early in 1815. "A great matrimonial experiment," Whishaw called it, and wrote of the lady, "She is very amiable and accomplished, besides being a great heiress, and very pleasing in her person and manners. She has good sense, but without any spark of genius or superior talents; and possessing, it is said, a great deal of information, she is gentle, reserved and *retiring* in an unusual degree." On September 13 of that year, both Lord and Lady Byron dined at Holland House, and included in the party were Lord and Lady Melbourne. The names of both Lord and Lady Byron appear in the Dinner Books on September 22; and he made a last appearance at dinner there on December 28.

¹ *Letters and Journals*, iii, 198; *Poetry*, vii, 94.

THE BYRON SEPARATION

About the middle of January 1816, Lady Byron left her husband, rather more than a month after the birth of their daughter, and never returned to him. The exact reasons for the final breach are still obscure, and we do not profess to be able to throw fresh light on them. But Holland's hand in the subsequent arrangements for the separation has received scanty recognition—indeed it would appear, from certain unpublished letters, to which we shall now allude and print in part, that the termination of the *impasse* was very largely due to his good offices.

Early in February Sir Ralph Milbanke, Lady Byron's father, suggested an amicable separation, which Byron declined. Lady Byron took counsel with her lawyers and amongst others consulted Dr Stephen Lushington, a barrister eminent in his profession, who at first advised a reconciliation, but after a more intimate knowledge of the case took the line that any such solution was impossible. As no progress could be made, he seems to have bethought himself of Lord Holland, as a friend of both the parties involved and of his own, to act as a channel of communication, and approached him with a view to obtaining his consent.

Holland did not leap at the proposal, as may be imagined, but wrote to Byron that he had not thought fit to decline all conversation on the subject without consulting him; and expressed his willingness to make the effort, if, and only if he had his complete approbation. He spoke of being sent to that day by, "a very old and intimate friend of mine, of a professional character . . . As I have the very best opinion of the head and heart of my friend Dr Lushington, I am persuaded that his motives are most honourable both to his client and to you." This letter is undated,¹ but must have been written on February 21 or 22. Byron's reply is dated the 23rd. As for some obscure reason it has never been published, and fills so important

¹ It is printed in *Lord Broughton's Recollections*, ii, 285.

a gap in the sequence of events, we make no apology for printing it in full. In it two points stand out in clear relief. First, Byron was perfectly prepared to bear the investigation of a public court, distasteful though it might be. This refutes Lady Byron's statement, made many years later, that her husband only agreed to a separation in order to keep out of court : and supports his own paper, written in 1817, and Hobhouse's comment, that the other side were reticent.¹ Secondly, he made no allegations whatsoever against his wife. He and her relations alone were to blame.

February 23rd, 1816.

M^Y DEAR LORD

There is no subject, however unpleasant, which would not become less so, by your taking the trouble to be the organ of communication. The present one has been so public and violent a topic of discussion (if my information be correct), that there need be no hesitation on the score of delicacy in mentioning it to me or anyone else, least of all by you, from whom I have never experienced anything which could be attributed to other motives than kindness. If I have never alluded to the subject of your note in my late conversations with you, it is only because I thought you must be sick of it already from other and various quarters. I will see you upon it tomorrow, or any other morning, or rather afternoon, after 3 o'clock which you are pleased to name.

It is perhaps proper I should tell you that I have already twice declined acceding to the propositions of the other parties—who have refused me *all explanation* or copy of the charge or charges which I am to encounter. The father writes me two or three bullying letters—for which (though I cannot quarrel with old women) I have a little, and but a little, resentment against him or his wife—and then wonders that I don't fall down and worship him. In the mean time every kind of abuse and calumny is permitted, if not sanctioned, in the

¹ See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, iii, 594 ; *Letters and Journals*, iii, 329.

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circulation by these venerable persons and a confidential house-keeper (a Mrs Clermont, who was Lady Noel's maid, then her—God knows what, and now, it seems, though I can't tell how, a most important personage in the family), and at the same time all specific statements again and again refused to my repeated request—and no answer returned but a positive demand of what Sir Ralph calls an "*amicable separation*," a phrase which I don't quite understand, but which means, I suppose, something the same as a hostile alliance.

In short, they are violent and I am stubborn ; and in these amiable tempers matters stand at present. They think to drive me by menacing with legal measures. Let them go into court, they shall be met there.

After what has been already said, they cannot be more anxious for investigation than myself.

With regard to the consequences, which must be disagreeable in any case, where the exposure of private conversation and every unguarded word and movement is liable to question and examination—all that is unpleasant ; but it is to be borne, and if it were even to be attended with utter destruction to me and mine and all generations lineal and collateral, I will go through it, before I permit accusers to become judges.

I have one word—and but one word to say of Lady B., whatever may become of this business or me in consequence of it—I can attach no blame to *her*. Where there is wrong, it may be fairly divided between her relatives and myself, and when there is right she has the monopoly.

They have presumed on the difference in the esteem of the world for Lady B. and her Lord to take an ungenerous advantage, knowing that when there was a dissention, all would naturally be with her. I stop this scrawl (private of course)

ever y^{rs}

most truly

B.

P.S. I need not add that you have my full approbation and sanction to say whatever you please on this subject to me, either from yourself or any other person.

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No doubt the meeting between Byron and Holland took place without undue delay ; and conditions must then have been formulated and put forward by the latter. For, on March 2, Byron wrote him the following letter :—

M^Y DEAR LORD

Not having received any answer to what you had the goodness to say on my part to the other party, I must now declare *off* even from *that*, and can only say that I consider that the time allotted has been sufficient for their decision, and as they have formed none I have *made* mine. I will now not only sign no separation, but agree to none, not even to a verbal permission for Lady B.'s absence.

I feel much obliged for any trouble you have had in this unpleasant business, and however I may regret what may occur or has occurred,

believe me
ever y^{rs}
most truly
B.

Holland's reply of March 3, the original of which is amongst the Murray MSS. and was published by Lord Ernle,¹ put a different complexion on the state of affairs. At the very time when Holland was sending Byron's furious note to Lushington, the latter was seeking Holland at his house in Savile Row, with a paper containing the terms of the proposed settlement ; but found him dining out. Lushington's letter and enclosures were enclosed in Holland's reply to Byron, who relented after hearing the explanation of the delay. Out of them the form of the final agreement for a separation took shape. Holland had been asked by Lady Byron on March 4 to call on her, and received on the 27th a most grateful letter of thanks for all he and Lady Holland had done for her in their short acquaintance.

Seemingly, Byron's last personal communication with

¹ *Letters and Journals*, iii, 316.

Holland, was a letter written on March 12, 1823, from Geneva, introducing a certain Count Giulio Rasponi. "After so long an interval as seven years of (transportation) separation you may perhaps have forgotten me . . ." and mentioned that he sometimes dreamed of returning to England for a short time on business.

By coincidence Holland's son, Henry Fox, called on Byron at Albano near Genoa ten days later, and had a long conversation.¹ As a boy he had met the poet, and had indeed been taken to a play by him in 1813. He wrote, "In the face he is not altered. A few grey locks scattered among his beautiful black locks are all that announce the approach of that age that has made such an impression on his mind, and of which he talks so much. However, he is only thirty-five, but if he was fifty he could not consider himself older." The story which Henry Fox told of an old woman of seventy at Coppet, who fainted with horror when she heard that Byron was in the room, bears out Lansdowne's report from Geneva in August 1816, that Byron was the object of some admiration, but of far greater terror to the inhabitants. Reports from those parts stated that no lady "would venture in a boat on that side of the lake, for fear of a visit from the Corsair !"

The death took place in April 1813 of Holland's uncle, General Richard Fitzpatrick, Lord Upper Ossory's brother. He was two years older than Charles James Fox, and was

¹ *Journal of Henry Edward Fox*, p. 161 ; compare *Letters and Journals*, vi, 178, where Byron describes the young man. "I think that he has the softest and most amiable expression of countenance I ever saw, and manners correspondent. If to those he can add hereditary talents, he will keep the name of Fox in all its freshness for half a century more, I hope. . . . I always liked that boy—perhaps, in part, from some resemblance in the less fortunate part of our destinies—I mean, to avoid mistakes, his lameness."

often described as his most intimate friend. Indeed, at one time the two men were inseparable. He was almost as great a gambler as Fox, and was associated with his famous faro bank at Brooks's in 1780. He had served with distinction in the American war, although his sympathies were entirely on the side of the colonists. He never married, and was one of the best-known and most popular members of society. He was a poet of no mean order, was one of the principal authors of *The Rolliad*, and, to quote Holland's words, was second only to Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams as a writer of political squibs and satirical verse.¹ A good example of his lighter methods is shown in an epitaph written for a dog in November 1798 :—

The Bachelor, in Faddles' fate,
This wholesome lesson traces.
Never is better far than *late*
For conjugal embraces.

On Age's brow, Love's myrtle wreaths
But spread the wrinkles faster,
And Faddles' shorten'd life bequeaths
A lesson to his master.

Fitzpatrick's residence in the country for many years was at Sunning Hill, a property which he left in his will to his niece, Caroline Fox. In 1796 Holland spoke of a pet crane in the gardens there, which imitated its owner in walking, and at least equalled him in solemnity ! Writing to Miss Fox about that time, the General said, " I meditate a letter to your brother, but being here in solitude cannot find time to write it. Your uncle Charles, who is at St Anne's Hill, has found a motto from Cowper, which will equally suit us both,

" How various his employments whom the world calls idle ! "

¹ *Further Memoirs*, p. 173.





"The cleverest, the most judicious friend I ever had," was Holland's summing-up of his uncle's character.

A request from Lord Upper Ossory to Holland to write an obituary notice, brought a promise to do so, if no one else would do it. Ossory had himself composed the inscription for the monument erected to his brother at Sunninghill. Holland's consent, however, was accompanied by a thoughtful and well-reasoned statement of his misgivings :—

The fact is I am at no times a very good person at these things, and soon after an event which agitates me a remarkably bad one. The difficulty consists in this, that if one gives way to the expression of one's affections, one falls into a strain of encomium with which few readers sympathize. Praise which seems unqualified and indiscriminate not only fails of obtaining, but actually repels all confidence in its truth. On the other hand, any authorship so recently after an event of this sort, as it requires greater constraint, produces the natural effect of it, coldness and insipidity.

During the summer and winter of 1813, Madame de Staël took London society by storm. Her daughter Albertine, and Auguste, the elder of her two sons, accompanied her. She established herself near the river at Richmond, in a villa then known as "the Gothic House." There Mackintosh, William Spencer, and John William Ward, afterwards Lord Dudley, were in constant attendance. Mackintosh had written a review of her *Essay on Suicide*, which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* about this time. "It is a very singular performance," wrote Whishaw to Lady Holland. He added that Madame de Staël had the good sense not to be much pleased with it, considering it as a personal compliment to herself and not as a *critique* of her work. She expected to be very differently treated when Mackintosh came to review her *Letters on Germany*.

The whole Staël family dined at Holland House on July

21. Prince and Princess Lieven, whose first appearance there this also appears to have been, were of the party. The Prince had arrived in England during the previous year as Russian Ambassador. The other guests were Lord Wellesley, M. de Potocki, Adair, Mackintosh, Rogers, William Ponsonby, and the Granville Leveson-Gowers. Lady Holland wrote to Lord Lansdowne :—¹

Madame de Staël continues still the nine days wonder. She is certainly very clever, but also very tiresome. One of the wittiest dialogues, in which however she only supplied the topics and was the cause of wit in others, occurred here at dinner between her and Lord Wellesley. Congreve could not have written a better scene. He parried inimitably well all her political queries and flowery harangues. She laughed very much on the wrong side of her mouth, as she has a mortal aversion to pleasantry in any shape. The Regent paid her a visit of two hours, in which she was perfectly convinced of the purity of his motives in retaining his present Ministers, and was even touched to tears at the filial piety of his feelings. He praised, and *cried* about L^d Holland, whom he professed to love as a son or brother, and told her he was the best man in England and Lady Georgina Morpeth the most amiable and perfect woman. Upon telling me this, she was rather shocked at my *sang froid*, and observed, “Comment donc, Miladi, vous n’êtes point émue ?” adding that indifference to Royal Masters had brought about the French Revolution, especially towards the Queen—a good remark from her, who took such a personal line herself.

Madame de Staël and her daughter were again entertained in Kensington on October 3, and on December 8, when Byron was also present, with Lord and Lady Stafford, Mackintosh, Admiral Graham Moore, and Francis Horner. A dinner given by them for the Hollands early in November, is described by Lady Bessborough.² “It was

¹ Bowood MSS.

² Lord G. Leveson-Gower, ii, 490.

entertaining to see Lady Holland and Mr Ward, both hating and both paying court to each other. Mad. de S. whispering to me : ‘ Bon Dieu ! comprend-on une coquetterie pareille ? Je mourrois de peur d’un esclandre quand ces puissances ennemies venoient à se rencontrer. Point du tout, ne diroit-on pas qu’ils s’adorent ? ’ ”

Holland wrote to his sister :—

We have seen M^e de Staël. To quote one of my poor Uncle Dick’s phrases, she is *un peu complimenteuse, il me semble*. Sheridan and she sat flummerying one another for an hour yesterday, at supper at Lady Bessborough’s. Her topicks were his moral principles, good heart, etc., etc. ; and his, I conclude, were her beauty and youth. She mistook Mrs Banks for Lady Hertford, and told her, “ Tous les peintres sur le continent ne parlent que de vous.” She outstrips the *Courier* in hatred of Bonaparte and admiration of *notre seul homme d’état*, L^d Castlereagh ; but with all that she is, I believe, a very good hearted woman, and every body knows she is a very clever one. In these essential qualifications she excels M^{me} de Flahault ; and yet I am ashamed to say I do not think her a tenth part so pleasant.

M^{de} de Staël, who had very large feet, went to a masquerade dressed like an antique statue. When part of the company were enquiring who the mask was, someone said, “ Pour moi je la reconnais par le pied de Staël.”

In the autumn Madame de Staël paid a visit to the Lansdownes at Bowood, and actually asked to bring her daughter with her, before the latter was fully recovered from measles, a request which both Holland and Whishaw spoke of with some surprise ! Lansdowne, on October 26, described the visit in a letter to Lady Holland :—

We have here at this moment literally a houseful. Mad. de Staël is pronounced by those that have seen her in town to be pleasanter in the country : not certainly from any love she has for rural beauties, for her expeditions are only walks

from one fireside to another ; but she finds listeners at them all, and seems in great good humour.

“ Have you read *l'Allemagne ?* ”¹ wrote Holland to Grey in November. “ She is going to Middleton in despite of L^d Jersey’s attempts to keep her away. She says *he* has not a grain of philosophy in his head.”

Madame de Staël remained in England until the early summer of 1814, sleeping two nights in April at Holland House. She then returned to Coppet, where her parties were reported by Whishaw to be ill attended. “ She is,” he wrote, “ like the prophet, without much honour in her own country,” alluding to the parentage of her father, Necker, who came from Geneva. When Byron was staying there in the autumn of 1816, he often saw Madame de Staël ; and she, “ captivated by his pathetic complaints,” as Lady Holland puts it in a letter to Horner, tried to bring about a reconciliation between husband and wife. Brougham was employed to further the good work, but without success. Lady Byron wrote in answer to a letter from him, that Byron always wished to have what he had not, and disliked what he had. She declined outright to consider any reunion, or even to contemplate it.

Madame de Staël died in 1817. Early that year Lady Holland had written in another letter to Horner, who was himself at the time *in extremis* at Pisa, that she was nicknamed the “ *Pie conspiratoire*.” “ She says there must be a change in the dynasty, as the people must fancy their King is of their own choice : but she varies in her language and prophecies every day.”

The “ Dinner Books ” for 1813 finally solve a problem

¹ M^e de Staël’s book, reprinted shortly before that time, after the destruction of almost the whole edition in 1810 by Napoleon’s instructions.

THE FOX CLUB

which has long exercised the minds of those interested in the subject. From them it seems practically certain that the Fox Club, a dining club still in full life and vigour, which was originated to preserve the memory of the illustrious statesman, was first formed in that year. Its commencement has always been shrouded in mystery. No minute books or lists of members or diners are extant before 1829 ; and an attempt to elucidate the history of the Club and its proceedings up to that date, made by one of the managers, " Bear " Ellice, in 1854, was completely unsuccessful. Since 1843 the dinners have been held at Brooks's Club, with the exception of one each summer which was held at Greenwich, a practice now discontinued. The records, such as they are, are kept at that Club ; and in its *Memorials*, published by Mr Victor Williamson in 1907, an indication is given of a " Fox dinner " late in the year 1820.¹ Doubts, however, were there thrown on this being one of a regular series, and the suggestion was made by the author that the Fox Club only took definite form in 1829. It is quite clear that dinners to commemorate Fox's death were held in other towns from time to time, but these were quite distinct from those of the Fox Club.

The information now forthcoming goes to show that the Fox Club must have been in existence since 1813. On January 23 of that year, a Saturday, an entry reads, " L^d H^d dined at the anniversary of Mr Fox's birthday."² On March 27, we read in Allen's own handwriting, " Mr A. at the Fox Club " : on May 8, " L^d H^d dined at the Fox Club " : and on July 9, " L^d H^d dined with the Fox Club at Greenwich." From that time onwards, there is regular mention of Holland or Allen, or both, as diners, January 24 being always the date for the first dinner of the year, when a Sunday did not intervene. Previous to 1813, no mention whatever is made in the Dinner Books of the Fox Club nor

¹ Introduction, p. xxi.

² Fox's birthday was on January 24.

of any anniversary dinner, although Holland is often reported as dining at "the Club," "the King of Clubs," and at similar institutions. May we not infer, therefore, that the decision to form the Club was taken on January 23, 1813? Probably too, the original "Whig Club," which seems to have faded out of existence about this time, was merged in it. The last record in the Dinner Books of Holland's presence at a meeting of the latter was on March 12, 1811.

A letter from Holland to Grey in 1821 gives a clue to the original purpose of the Club, over and above the commemoration of the memory of Fox. It was clearly intended to form an active organization suitable for the circulation of Whig propaganda, for promoting efficiency in times of elections, and for assisting in other ways the advancement of the Party's political views. James Perry, the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, an active member, had died quite recently.

There is some embarrassment about filling up Perry's place in the Fox Club, of which he was Secretary or Treasurer, I forget which. Stephenson¹ is, I believe, disposed and even anxious to take it, but he is not even a member of the Club, and, unless strongly urged by some of us, the measure of bringing him in for such a purpose may possibly occasion some slight opposition or discontent. On the other hand, I think that as far as the Fox Club is of any use, it is essential to have some one like Stephenson, who is in habits of conversation and intimacy with persons in both Houses of Parliament, and not averse nor unused to communicate with those connected with newspapers and agents in Elections, in the place of Secretary

¹ H. F. Stephenson, Private Secretary to the Duke of Sussex. He appears to have become a Manager of the Club, but not till 1841. His son, later Sir Augustus Stephenson, also took a leading part in its activities.

THE FOX CLUB

or Treasurer of such a Club. If you authorize me and Adair to say you are anxious about it, it will promote that object.

To this Grey wrote that he gave his full approval, and thus left the decision in Holland's hands.

CHAPTER XIV

1813-1816

VISITORS, MAINLY FOREIGN

LADY BESSBOROUGH wrote to Lord Granville Leveson-Gower on October 25, 1813 :—¹

We din'd at Holland House yesterday ; it was very pleasant, except for every now and then that tone of incredulity or indifference to our successes—not in Spain, for I cannot make out the consistency of their views. They would defeat Bonaparte in Spain, and let him defeat the allies in Germany. This is beyond my politics, and makes me as cross as it does poor Adair, who is sadly annoyed in various ways. At H.H., however, he cannot open his lips, for he seems to differ on almost all points, but shakes his head, and says in a tremulous tone, almost like Kemble's : " A-Ah ! this is not the true old Whig creed."

It is interesting, therefore, to find a letter from Holland, a few months later, explaining to his son Charles the inconsistencies with which the Whigs were apparently also being taxed in other quarters. In Queen Anne's reign, he wrote, the Whigs were for war, fearing a restoration of the Stuart regime by the help of Louis XIV. In 1793, on the other hand, they were for peace, looking upon war as one "against the rights of an independent people," and as "likely to raise the most powerful nation in Europe to a tremendous resistance," which in fact it did. Later, the Party view was to support those Peoples who were prepared

¹ Lord G. Leveson-Gower, ii, 485. William Ponsonby, Fazakerley, Lewis and Knapp were of the party. (Dinner Books.)

to make the effort to reduce the immense power which France had gained, but who were not prepared to bribe the Courts in question to assist in the undertaking when either they themselves or their inhabitants were unwilling. He and others, he said, were quite ready to do their utmost to maintain the integrity of those States who were threatened by France, but were loath to wage war in order to restore the Bourbons or to meddle with the people of France.

If Lord Holland was inconsistent, it may have been in his subsequent attitude towards Napoleon, the oppressor of other nations and "an enemy to all rational liberty." Yet even this is capable of explanation. Once in the hands of the Allies, the oppressor had become the oppressed, and when the attitude of the Tory Government to their prisoner seemed mean and overbearing, Holland's sympathy went out to him. "I cannot but hate Bonaparte," he wrote to Grey in 1814, "but I cannot but admire him."

In April 1814 the Hollands and their friends expressed much perturbation at the action of the Regent in inviting Louis XVIII, who was passing through London from his home in exile at Hartwell, on his way to take over the Monarchy in Paris, to make a triumphal entry. The King's suite, postillions and even the soldiers, were decorated with the white cockade. Rogers wrote an epigram on the incident, addressed to the military :—

Wear it awhile. Against him led,
With your own blood you'll dye it red.
—But had your brave forefathers worn it,
Great Nassau from their brows had torn it.¹

Harry Fox, son of General Henry Edward Fox, wrote an amusing story to Miss Fox of the relations between the Regent and Louis a year or two before :—

¹ *Rogers and his Contemporaries*, i, 148.

VISITORS, MAINLY FOREIGN

There had lately wellnigh been a serious quarrel between the Prince and Lewis the 18th. The Regent had long been jealous that his brother of France could drink four bottles of claret without inconvenience, while his own royal faculties are much disordered by three. With that uprightness and magnanimity which has ever distinguished *our* Prince, he at a late dinner contrived to mix brandy with the wine of the French Sovereign and reduced his Majesty to a state of beastly intoxication : and afterwards loudly boasted of his ill-gotten victory.

Now the Marchioness of Hertford's first femme-de-chambre intrigues with the valet of the deposed Lewis, and by this line of communication the foul and ungenerous trick came to the ears of the Monarch of France. Hostilities were straight way commenced, the details of which I have not time to write. Suffice it to say that after long negotiations distinguished by every sort of dissimulation and double-dealing, the French King has been induced to return to his former relations of amity, upon condition—that the Prince shall with his own scissors cut out the new uniform (coat, waistcoat *and* breeches) to be worn by the Bourbons at their restoration, and design a beautiful front for the Bastille, of which he will guarantee the building. Don't you think there is good matter for a mock-heroic poem :

John Cam Hobhouse, created Lord Broughton in 1851, wrote of a visit to the Hollands on February 10, 1814.¹ He found, " Lady Holland on a sofa, Lord Holland writing notes and talking—in the gout. S. Rogers, Lord Stair and Tierney standing as at an audience." He dined there the following evening, when he praised his host as " the most delightful man alive." He said that he did not find Lady Holland "*farouche*, only a little brusque."

Two letters from Holland during that spring of 1814 to his son Charles, who was working in the country under a tutor, are noteworthy :—

¹ *Recollections*, i, 84.

NO TIME TO LOSE

You told me to write, but you did not tell me what to write about, and I am afraid the dullness of my letter will show that it is an act of obedience rather than inclination.

Custom demands a prologue to a play,
But custom has not told us what to say.

So

Charles has insisted I should write today,
But Charles has not told us what to say.

The second letter, however, a few weeks later, contained plenty of incident. A friend of Charles Fox, Lord Frederick Bentinck, who was soldiering in the Mediterranean, had got leave to come home, remembering that he had a horse running in the Derby. When nearing Genoa the captain of his ship sighted the *Undaunted*, which was taking Napoleon to Elba, and suggested that a two-hours' diversion from their course might provide them with an opportunity of seeing him. "No, No," said Lord Frederick, "I have no time to lose." He reached Genoa, passed through France as a courier, crossed from Calais to Dover in an open boat, travelled all night to London, borrowed a hack from his brother, and reached Epsom half an hour before the race. "I am quite glad," he observed, "not to have lost my time seeing that d—d fellow, for if I had listened to such nonsensical curiosity, I should have been too late for the Derby." A postscript tells the sequel in a few simple words. "Lord Fred. lost his race."

Allen left London for Scotland on June 8, in preparation for a trip to the Continent which the Hollands had planned for the autumn. Lady Holland regaled him with titbits of gossip connected with the visit of the Allied Sovereigns, who were in London at that time. Blücher had danced a polonaise with Lady Jersey at her party. "Those who

know him well," she wrote, "say it is lucky his knowledge of language is confined to his own barbarous tongues, as he is far from intelligent. Sharp¹ said he was now happy, as he had seen two great men, one who had beat Napoleon in the field, and the other who had baffled him in the Cabinet. It requires no commentary; he means Blücher and Metternich." The latter dined at Holland House on June 23. "He is a lively, clever man, with a most false expression of countenance. He is not so handsome as Lord Castlereagh, but is rather like him in the form of his face and features." The Jerseys, Morpeths, Granville Leveson-Gowers, Lady Affleck, Playfair, and Lords Grey and Lauderdale were of the party. Jeffrey had compared Playfair to D'Alembert in the *Edinburgh Review* of 1810, although his actual name is not mentioned.

Baron Humboldt, the celebrated German traveller, dined on several occasions at this time. Lady Holland was ailing, and was not present at the festive entertainments which were everywhere being given to the Sovereigns, although her husband was present at the Guildhall, and on other occasions. "Pray applaud me," were her words to her absent medical adviser. On June 12, Holland had been sent for by the Russian Emperor Alexander, in company with Grey, Grenville, Lansdowne and Erskine, and was received in audience by him at his hotel. Lady Holland tells a good story of the Emperor, who had promised to go to a ball at Lady Jersey's on the night of his return from his reception at Oxford. At 2.30 a.m. he had not arrived back in London, and the company in despair began to disperse.

The Russians who were present said they knew their *cher Empereur* so well, that, as he had promised, he might not perhaps

¹ Richard Sharp, best known to the world as "Conversation" Sharp.

come in time for the *Ball*, but he certainly would not go to bed in London before he had made her a visit. Accordingly at half-past-three he arrived, without guards or even an aide-de-camp or any companion. On entering the room he endeavoured to dispel all form, put his hat into a corner, and began waltzing. He stayed 12 minutes at supper, and then returned to dancing with different ladies. He remained till 6 o'clock, and appeared very happy. He desired Lady Jersey not to let people be full dressed. He was *in* St Paul's the same morning at 11 o'clock. I really envy the man his constitution, *physical* not political.

Lady Holland wrote in another letter :—

The Emperor and the Regent are as great enemies as possible, each party sneering and even abusing the other. The *ton* at C. House is to ridicule all the Emp. and his sister [the Grand-Duchess of Oldenburg] do. The Emp. shrugs up his shoulders at the sight of L^y Hertford and at the length of the dinners, “*Quel goût ! les grosses femmes et les grosses bouteilles.*” He objects to the practice in England of sitting so long at dinner. He says, besides the *ennui* it is a sad waste of life, time and pleasure ; three-quarters of an hour he reckons quite sufficient for any of the duties of the table. The Emp. was very much irritated at the delay of the assembling the Congress at Vienna. He wished it to be immediately, but says, “*Il faut que j'attende le bon loisir de Milord Castlereagh.*”

And in a later letter, “The Emp. wrote to the P^{ss} of Wales the day before he left London, styling her his *chère cousine*, and lamenting that particular circumstances prevented him visiting her. Do not give credit to the denial which is studiously given to the Regent's letter to the Emp., imploring him not to visit the P^{ss} of W. *It is true.*” Lady Holland added that Sir Robert Calder, who saw the French prisoners embarking, said that they were complimented upon wearing the white cockade. They answered, “It is in our hats, but Bonaparte is in our hearts.” Met-

ternich told her that Talleyrand observed to him, of the *émigrés* during their absence and adversity, "Qu'ils n'avoient rien appris, ni rien oublié."

Holland wrote to Lansdowne in July, "I have seen a good deal of Sismondi, the historian. He is a simple, unaffected man, full of probity and good principles, and a thoroughly worthy, estimable person."¹

We must refer to one dinner on July 18, at which Mrs Fox and her husband's illegitimate daughter, Miss Harriet Willoughby, were present. It was composed of the Morpeths, Miss Fox, Baugh Allen, Rogers, Fazakerley, Lord John Russell, and Charles Fox. Let Mrs Fox's Diary tell the tale and its sequel.

Harriet and I went to Holland House, got there about five. Called on dear Miss Fox, and found them both at home. Did not see L^y H. till just dinner time. A large party. Dear young one [Lord Holland] did not get home till we were near done dinner. He was not allowed to sit at our table, poor fellow. Indeed, I never saw her Ladyship more ungracious than she was. Young one delightful.

19th. L^y H. went out of the room before we had done breakfast. I just met her as she was getting into the garden chair. She would scarcely condescend to speak to us. Harriet and I drove to town. Got back about five; found that L^d and L^y H. dined out. Miss Fox, Miss Vernon, L^d J. Russell, Charles and Mr Allen dined with us, and we had a very pleasant comfortable evening. . . . They came home late. My Lady did not appear.

20. Was allowed to go into L^y H.'s new room—a great favour I suppose it was thought. She made Harriet and me a present of a box each that she had received from Paris, and we were dismissed with what I suppose my Lady thought great dignity, but which I thought with great ill-breeding and vulgarity, which the dear General² used to say always appeared most conspicuous when she wished to be most dignified. I

¹ Bowood MSS.

² Fitzpatrick.

must own I could not but feel hurt at being turned out of the house in such a way, having seen so little of the young one and his children, and who I am not likely to see again for so long a time. That L^d H. should allow me to be driven out of his house in such a way did indeed surprise me, but—I must not allow myself to say all I feel on this subject. L^d H. read a very delightful paper to us of his own, in imitation of Boswell's *Johnson* (called *Six days passed at H.H.*).¹

On July 30 the Hollands started for the Continent, to return to Holland House a year later on August 6, 1815. "I am uneasy, dear Lady Holland," Sydney Smith had written on June 25, "at your going abroad. Consider what it is to be well. If I were you, I would not stir from Holland House for two years : and then, as many jolts and frights as you please, which at present you are not equal to. . . . Be wise, my dear Lady, and re-establish your health in that gilded room which furnishes better and pleasanter society than all the wheels in the world can whirl you to."²

Rome was their objective, and there they stayed for three months from November 10. They dined with Talleyrand in Paris. Fouché, Duke of Otranto, the Duc and Duchesse de Levi, the Bishop of Evreux, young Staël, Monteron and Charles Fox were present. The last, "made his début in French society with great success, and without any pertness or forwardness whatever."

"Talleyrand received me," Holland wrote to his sister, "and yet more emphatically Lady Holland, with a *franchise* and cordiality, even a kindness, which I hardly thought were in his character, and which, as I can see no motive for assuming that he did not feel them, conciliates our good will and affection as much as it tickles our vanity. His evening parties are composed of very incongruous materials

¹ We are unable to discover this paper.

² *Letters* (ed. Austin), ii, 119.

—Bonaparte's officers, Revolutionary patriots, ex-nobles, French diplomats, and the foreign Ministers who have been most active in promoting the war against France."

It is not our purpose to follow the peregrinations of the travellers. Rogers was with them in Rome in January 1815. They moved to Naples for some weeks in February ; but it was not till their return to Rome that they heard, on March 11, of Napoleon's escape from Elba.¹ Fazakerley wrote to Lady Holland, that Talleyrand was reported to have said to the Duke of Wellington on hearing of it, "On ne vous fera plus de reproche d'être les ennemis de la liberté de la mer."

Henry Fox, by then Lord Holland, was dining in Paris with Lord Howden in 1856, when a discussion arose as to how the news of Napoleon's escape first reached Vienna :—

Napoleon's escape from Elba was talked of. Every one present and some who ought to know the truth had a different version of the time, the manner, and the effect of that news produced at the Congress at Vienna. Hayward said it was first known while the Congress was sitting, and when divulged only excited loud laughter among the Diplomats assembled. Cowley said Metternich told his father that he was awoke in the middle of the night with a dispatch from Florence, which he was not disposed to open and left on his table. But he tried to sleep and could not—why should a dispatch from Florence be deemed of that importance as to require being delivered in the middle of the night ? He got up and read it, dressed, went to the Emperor, and before mid-day the news was over the town. The version I had heard, and so had Clancricarde, was that the news came while tableaux were acting at some great house where all the Congress were assembled, that the secret was not kept, and that surprise, terror, curiosity and anxiety were on every face ; and that old Talleyrand was heard to say, "M. Bonaparte fait bien les affaires de M.

¹ *Rogers and His Contemporaries*, i, 181.

le Duc d'Orléans." It struck me as curious that such a fact, so recent, should be thus described in such various ways by those who are in positions to have heard and known much on the subject. Who shall attempt to write History !!!

Late in March the Hollands were back in Rome, and there the Bedfords joined them. It would appear from a letter written by Lord Upper Ossory that the original reason for the trip was to economise, as they had been living above their means. But a further incentive to dally on the Continent seems to have arisen. It appears from Holland's correspondence with Thomas Grenville, that he was not at one with his Party in the support which they were giving to the Government in the prosecution of a new war against the Emperor after his return. He spoke of it as undertaken to restore the Bourbons : and he thought that Napoleon might have been given a chance.

Early in April the Hollands started home by slow stages, via the Tyrol, Germany and Brussels, avoiding France for reasons which become apparent when we remember that Waterloo was fought on June 18.¹ Yet a passport is extant, dated May 20, giving permission to Holland and his party to enter France where they liked, and entitling them to every courtesy, issued by special order of the Emperor in consequence of an application by Louis Bonaparte.

Louis, who, after his abdication of the Crown of Holland in 1810, retired to Italy and lived under the name of Comte de St Leu, seems never to have been specially intimate with the Hollands. The reason on this occasion for his solicitude for their comfort, may have been due partially to the fact

¹ Mr Oscar Browning told the present writer, doubtless on the authority of Charles Fox, whom he knew well, that the Hollands heard of the Emperor's defeat when at Aschaffenburg. They cried ; but the coachman, beside whom the boy was sitting on the box, said, "Don't mind, Mr Charles, it's all right. I think it a very good thing that Bony has been beaten."

that they were occupying his residence on the Corso in Rome, "a gay and spacious house, but dirty and noisy." He consulted Holland in 1816 as to the possibility of obtaining passports for and permission to live in England, but was advised that the time was not ripe for the request. At the same time he asked for his assistance in making arrangements for the publication of some book in England, perhaps his *Histoire du Parlement anglais jusqu'à l'an VII*, which was produced in Paris in 1820. This Holland promised to do, ineffectually as it would appear. Again in 1825 Allen was approached by the Comte de Flahault, on behalf of Louis, to see Murray, and to get better terms for the publication of a series of letters from Napoleon to Marie Louise. These negotiations also broke down; and none of his works appear to have been printed in London.

With Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino, and his wife, the Hollands were on much closer terms of friendship. Lucien had quarrelled with his brother, after his marriage in 1803 with Madame Joubertson, and resided chiefly in Rome until his journey to America in 1810. Captured by the British, he spent the next four years in England, and had only just returned to Rome, where the Hollands found him. Holland wrote to his sister:—

We have been much pleased with Lucien Bonaparte and his wife. He is very gentle and obliging in his manner, sensible, judicious and feeling, though I think a little too grave in his conversation. She has very great remains of beauty; and both with great propriety of manner seem very affectionate and fond of their children and happy in their menage. Lucien attributes the evils of despotism, which he is not disposed to palliate, to the nature of despotism rather than to the character of the individual despot.

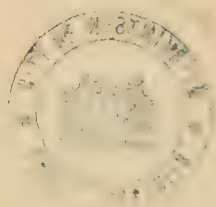
Some years later, in 1820, Holland again spoke of Lucien, "He was the most of a man and a statesman of them all; and had Bonaparte followed his advice, there possibly



ANTONIO CANZIANI



LUCIEN BONAPARTE



would have been no liberty and little happiness for France, but I think that the Bonaparte dynasty would still be there." Lady Holland also wrote to Miss Fox from Rome in 1814 :—

Lucien came to see me. I was captivated by his pleasing manners. He is the most polished of all I have seen who ever belonged to the Imperial Court. Your brother says I pushed him hard about the Emp., my detestation of Republics, and palliation for the usurpation of the Empire. His tone is to praise England, not only for the happiness of the people, but also for that of the ruler, who being limited can never fall into the misfortunes of a despot, whom, he added, were in fact full as much restrained, as resistance was often made to their views *dans le militaire, les finances, et le domestique*—the latter he meant for his own refusal of complying with Bonaparte's projects. His voice is sweet and like his brother's, his features are well shaped, his beard beautifully *blue*, but the spectacles take off the fine character of his countenance. He came again last night with his wife, her, for whom he refused sceptres, power and liberty. For substantial happiness he was wise in his preference.

A portrait of Lucien Bonaparte, by Fabre, hangs in the *Inner Library*, but we have no record of when it was painted or given to the Hollands, beyond a suggestion that it was sent by him after 1815.¹

The return of the Hollands early in August 1815 was celebrated by a family dinner. Miss Fox, Miss Vernon, Lady Affleck, Henry Webster, Charles and Henry Fox were present, as well as Bonaiuti, Henry's tutor Shuttleworth, and Lord Archibald Hamilton. Within the next few weeks all the habitués flocked to Kensington, and amongst others we read the names of Tierney, Lord and

¹ This faces p. 298.

VISITORS, MAINLY FOREIGN

Lady Cowper, Duke of Bedford, Kinnaird, Horner, Luttrell, Lauderdale, the Romillys, Piggott, Whishaw, Sheridan, Mackintosh, the Granvilles¹ and Rogers.

Whishaw came on the scene early in the annals of Holland House, for his name first appears in the Dinner Books in 1802. Lady Holland never mentioned him in her *Journal*, but in 1806 was instrumental in obtaining for him the appointment of Auditor of Public Accounts. He does not appear in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but for all that he made himself a figure in Whig circles, and danced constant attendance on the Hollands. His letters to them, a long series of varying interest, date from 1806.

On September 26, we find in the Dinner Books the following entry, "Mr Binda—from Italy." Giuseppe Binda was a young Italian, a native of Lucca. To the public his name is only known through his connection with Ugo Foscolo ; but a notice of him cannot be omitted from any history of Holland House, where he became to all intents and purposes a permanent inmate for the next five or six years. Whishaw, who made friends with him on arrival, and who assisted him as to the disposal of his collection of manuscripts and autographs, related that he had been connected with the Roman and Neapolitan Governments, and that a promising career had been cut short by the recent revolution in Italy.² The Hollands and Bedfords had become intimate with him in Rome, and invited him to England. His agreeable personality and cultivated tastes there made him many friends, but it was to the Holland House circle that he was largely indebted for his success, as he always frankly acknowledged. For forty years or more he flits across the family stage, always shrouded in a veil of mystery. At the onset certainly he was the honoured guest, but one who was willing to turn

¹ Lord G. Leveson-Gower had been raised to the peerage in 1815.

² The "Pope" of *Holland House*, p. 121.

his hand to anything to make himself useful. He wrote letters for his host and hostess, played billiards with Charles, amused the younger children, and took a leading part in their theatricals. In December 1816, Holland wrote to Charles Fox, "Binda, instead of working, and squabbling at billiards, has been counting the books. I have 2000 less than I thought,

In the Long Library	7200
In the Little Cabinet ¹	2510
In the New Room	2500
Mama's room	400
Journal Room and other rooms computed	400

13,010 "

But Binda's active brain did not content him with this kind of life, and he coveted regular employment. Unfortunately for him he just missed the post of librarian to Lord Spencer, who decided against appointing a man of his standing. He started to embark on financial ventures, on a small scale at first, it is true. But his schemes seem never quite to have materialised, notwithstanding the fact that he does not appear to have been too particular about his methods. Lady Holland wrote a word of warning to her son Henry. "There is not an habitué of this house from whom he has not upon one or other pretext obtained money." Yet with this knowledge clearly before them, it is extraordinary to find the amount of pity and commiseration which was continually showered upon this seemingly unworthy object. It certainly speaks highly for plausibility and winning ways! Lady Holland's specific complaint against him was, it appears, that he had "shamefully violated" her trust by abstracting a paper from some drawer, when she had placed the key of it in his care.

¹ Now a part of *Addison's Room*. The "New Room" designates the present *Inner Library* on the first floor.

A copy of a small head of him by G. F. Watts, which replaces one burnt in 1871, shows how intimate he still was with the next generation. The later Hollands constantly called in on him when passing to and fro from Naples to England ; for he spent the last years of his life in Leghorn. There he held for some years the post of United States Consul, having become an American subject when on a visit to that country in 1826, after his marriage to an American girl. Even so, he was usually in hot water with the municipal authorities, to whom he was constantly deep in debt.

On Canova's arrival in England at the beginning of November 1815, the letter inviting him and his brother, the Abbate Canova, to dine at Holland House, was written by Binda on behalf of the host and hostess. They had met the great sculptor in Rome during the previous year, where they had arrived armed with an introduction to him from the Chevalier Tocco.¹ And so, on hearing of his arrival in Paris, Lady Holland had suggested in September, that he should stay in Kensington. She spoke of the honour that it would be to the ancient mansion, which had once lodged Vandyke, alluding to the accepted tradition that the latter once painted there. Canova declined her invitation, but dined with them, accompanied by his brother, on November 4, and again on the 7th. On the first occasion the guests invited to meet them were Lady Jersey, Tierney, Captain Maitland (who had brought Napoleon to England on the *Bellerophon*), Sir Arthur Piggott, Horner, Lady Affleck and Binda. On the 7th there were, Mr and Mrs Abercromby, Horner, Whishaw, Westmacott the sculptor, David Wilkie, in addition to Lady Affleck and Binda.

Lawrence was invited to meet Canova at the second

¹ *Relazione litterarie fra Italia e Inghilterra*, by Professor Carlo Segré, 1911. These letters are in the Canova Correspondence at Bassano.

dinner, but begged to be excused. He wrote that he had been introduced to him in Paris, apparently some years before, "where I had suffered my strong desire of being known to him to get the better of a very just shame at being deprived by my own indolence of benefitting by his conversation." And now he could not again face the mortification, this time at Holland's table, of being still ignorant of the French language. He suggested, however, that he would be glad to speak to the Chevalier through the best of his "imperfect works" in his own studio, if the Hollands would at the same time grace it and name a convenient day. We have no record of whether the suggestion took shape. But it is clear that the two men must have improved on their acquaintance, for we find in the House an interesting sketch in oils of the sculptor by Lawrence, and several replicas or copies are in existence.¹

Canova had been sent to Paris by Pope Pius VII to plead for the restitution of the works of art belonging to Rome, but, having no armed force to back his demands, was having anything but an easy time. Dr Holland, the celebrated physician, wrote to Lady Holland from there on October 1 :—

Metternich is smooth and Jesuitical with him. "Oh, by all means take them—no doubt on the subject." But Canova has his doubts; and reasonably enough. The removal of the *Apollo* and the *Transfiguration* will require a distinct order, and strong military countenance. For them he receives no promise. His position is an embarrassing one, and he feels it as such. The abandonment of the claim at this moment of general scramble would presume its relinquishment for ever.

Rogers wrote, too, from Paris about the same time, of the removal of the Venetian Horses² :—

They went along under my window, each like a dead horse

¹ This faces p. 298.

² Brought from St Mark's.

in a cart, all the people standing at their doors to see them. The pictures go on the heads of the Hungarian soldiers. Canova was in a great agony for some days. "I have spent two hours at a time in Metternich's antichamber. That Metternich is *une chose terrible*. I have heard him laugh thro' the door. And if the servants had not given me a crust of bread, I must have fainted. I am advised to take some moulding clay in my fingers, the next time I go to sit there." He has carried his point. The pictures are gone, the marbles going, and the Galleries resemble an auction room after a sale. A scene of still greater confusion is the Austrian barrack, in which the *Venus*, the *Apollo*, the *Transfiguration*, the *S^t Peter Martyr*, and a thousand precious things, are all huddled together.

The second Treaty of Paris was signed on November 20 ; and before three weeks had passed the tragedy of the executions of Ney and Labedoyère had been enacted. Madame Ney's despairing appeal to the Regent to save her husband was forwarded to Holland's care. The latter was anxious to present it in person, but the Prince was absent from London, and he was advised by Lord Liverpool, the Prime Minister, in two letters, dated November 24, one private, one official, to forward it to him by special messenger in order to save time. A similar letter had been sent to the Duke of Orleans, then living at Twickenham, who took exactly the same course as Holland had done. The Prince did not feel called upon to intervene ; and Holland then addressed a long letter to Lord Kinnaid in Paris, which arrived too late, imploring him to intercede with the Duke of Wellington. Kinnaid inadvisedly showed the letter to the Duke, who misinterpreted the meaning of one sentence in it, and took offence. So much so, that he cut Holland at Sir Charles Stuart's house in Paris in 1817 ; and it was some years before the breach was healed.

Parliament met on February 1, 1816, after an unusually

long recess. Again Grey made excuses, and would not come to town. He pleaded declining health in reply to a letter from Lady Holland urging him to show himself, and expressed a hope that his share in the direction of the Party would imperceptibly drift into other hands. And in whose hands could it better be placed, he asked, than in Holland's ?

The position was a complicated one. The guidance of Opposition in a difficult session devolved on a disunited party. The rift between the Foxites and Lord Grenville's followers was becoming more and more apparent, and led up to the latter's final disappearance from the active field of politics in 1819. One outstanding success, however, was achieved in March. The Government were defeated on the Property Tax, largely owing to the efforts of Henry Brougham, who had been re-elected to Parliament after an absence of several years.

The Hollands moved up to 20 Savile Row on January 22, in view of the work which would inevitably fall on his shoulders, and remained in residence there until May, leaving the children at Holland House. Small dinners were not infrequent, and on occasions when the House of Lords sat late, Holland was wont to bring back five or six friends to supper. They dined out fairly frequently, and also went to the play. Amongst the distinguished visitors who had been entertained to dinner in Kensington during the autumn and early winter of 1815, we find the names of the Duke of York, of the Duke of Sussex, and of Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans—not his first appearance there, for he had dined in 1802. A new-comer, who was to spend much of his time at Holland House during the next twelve months, arrived to stay on December 15, Count de Flahault.

Charles Auguste de Flahault, only son of his mother, by this time Madame de Souza, was born in 1785. It is now no secret that Talleyrand was his father. Brought over to

England after the Revolution by his mother, he was educated at an English school, but joined the French army in 1800. He rose to the rank of General, and was appointed an aide-de-camp to Napoleon, whom he accompanied throughout his later campaigns, including that of Waterloo. He had kept clear of the Bourbons at the first Restoration, but was arrested, notwithstanding, after the Hundred Days. He managed, however, to slip away to England, doubtless through Talleyrand's connivance; so a promise from the Hollands to provide him with an asylum was received with gratitude by his mother. The latter advised him to see, "Ce bon, cet excellent Lord Holland," as soon as he reached England: while Lady Holland, she described as, "Une personne de cœur, tout-à-fait de cœur."¹ Flahault made an excellent impression on his host and hostess. Holland wrote early in 1816, "We are quite delighted with Flahault. In addition to many agreeable qualities, he is frankness itself. How that happens, I cannot guess, but so it is."

Flahault wrote to his mother on November 30, 1816. "H.H. J'ai diné ici hier, j'y ai couché, j'y dine aujourd'hui. . . . Je ne puis vous dire les bontés dont me comblent les maîtres de la maison d'où je vous écris. Ils me pressent toutes les fois qu'ils me voyent de venir m'y établir. Je devrois accepter, mais cette conversation de toute la soirée ne me convient pas." And on December 10, "En raison de ce qu'il faut plus de temps pour y arriver, on dine de meilleure heure que dans toute autre maison. On a pris l'habitude de se mettre à table à 6 hrs précises." . . .¹

Flahault spent Christmas 1815, at Holland House; and it is interesting to notice that his future bride, Miss Margaret Mercer Elphinstone was included in the dinner party. Perhaps this was their first meeting! By September 1816, Grey was writing from Howick, where both were staying,

¹ Bowood MSS.

"I don't know what to think about him and Miss Mercer. It is either a thing quite settled, or there is nothing in it." Settled it was ! much to the fury of the lady's father, Admiral Lord Keith, a peppery old salt, who had been in command of the squadron which brought Napoleon in the *Bellerophon* to Plymouth. The lovers were married in June 1817. Margaret was his only daughter by his first wife, Jane Mercer of Elie, and heir to his Barony of Keith ; yet he swore to leave away all his belongings—the estates of the Earls Marischal and the Earls of Perth, rather than accept a foreigner as a son-in-law. "I believe he never can hear the sound, Countess and Count de Flahault," wrote Sir John Murray to Lady Holland, a few weeks before the wedding, "without feeling much out of humour and having every antipathy roused." The year 1821, however, during which his daughter was very dangerously ill, brought about a reconciliation ; and at Lord Keith's death two years later, it was found that his property was left in trust for her children. Miss Fox wrote in 1819, "M^{de} de Flahault is not improved in *looks*. He is more agreeable than ever, for a John Bullish reason, viz., that he is more like an Englishman in tongue and manners, always understanding the highest bred Englishman."

The small three-quarter-length picture of Flahault at Holland House, by Henri Fradelle, a Frenchman who lived in England, dates from about the time of the wedding. Madame de Souza expressed her delight to Lady Holland, in May 1817, that the offer of it had been accepted, "Si j'aurais pu parler au peintre je lui aurais demandé de le gracieuser de quelques cheveux de plus. Je crois que son vrai p^âtron est *Charles le Chauve* ; mais ne disons pas cela à M^{lle} M . . ., puisqu'elle ne s'en est pas aperçue."

General Sebastiani, another of Napoleon's generals, was also included in the Christmas party. Holland wrote of him in April 1816, "Sebastiani is going back to France ;

by which I conclude he has made, or thinks he has made his peace with the powers that be. We have scarcely seen him of late. He avoids the Opposition, and fancies that by so doing he pays his court both at home and here."

An interesting re-appearance at Holland House a few days after the family had moved back there in May 1816, was that of Henry Brougham. He had dined on two occasions in Savile Row earlier in the year, but until then had not partaken of the Hollands' hospitality since May 1810. Apparently, the latter had no more knowledge than we have of the reason for this long estrangement; and in making a request to be received back, Brougham stipulated that he should not be asked for any explanation. He then resumed the habits of familiarity and intimacy as if nothing had happened!¹

Holland had been instrumental during 1810, the year of the breach, in obtaining for Brougham, through the Duke of Bedford's kindness, a long-coveted seat in Parliament, and was completely at loss to understand his attitude. He somewhere made the suggestion that Brougham's jealousy of his old friend Francis Horner, who was at that time making great headway in the Whig Party, might have had something to do with this extraordinary behaviour. On the other hand, Grey, writing to Lady Holland on February 18, 1816, said, "I am very glad indeed that you have received Brougham as you describe. It was worthy of your good sense and kindness. I never could make out the cause of his estrangement, but I have some reason to suspect that it proceeded from some reports that had been made to him, either entirely false or grossly exaggerated, of something you had said." Remarkable as it may seem, Brougham's correspondence with Holland and Allen had

¹ *Further Memoirs*, pp. 45, 234.

continued, much on the same scale as before, throughout the years 1811 and 1812.

Brougham's first introduction to the Hollands was due to Allen.¹ The latter and Francis Horner, another early friend, were present on the occasion when he first dined at Holland House on July 5, 1805, the year of his arrival in London, when busily engaged on articles for the *Edinburgh Review*, which had originated three years earlier. Francis Jeffrey was much interested in the project, and became Editor in 1803. Brougham was still flirting with the Tories, in the hopes of securing a seat in Parliament; but burnt his boats in 1807, when he accepted the management of the Whig press in the General Election which followed the resignation of Grenville's Government. Both Holland and Allen took part in the campaign; and Brougham's correspondence with the latter during that year bears witness to the extent of his activities.

At the General Election of 1812, Brougham found himself without a seat, Bedford having been obliged, through loss of income, to sell the Borough of Camelford. He made two fruitless attempts to gain election elsewhere, but it was not till February 1816 that he was again provided with a seat, this time at Winchelsea. Whitbread's death and the failure of George Ponsonby to make good as leader of the party, determined Brougham to make a strong bid for the succession to it; and the success which crowned his almost unaided efforts in the Lower House carried him a long step towards his goal. His desire, therefore, to reinstate himself in the good graces of Holland House becomes very intelligible. Unfortunately for him, the inherent imperfections of his nature and his lack of judgment snatched the prize from him, when it appeared to be almost within his grasp and when the Government seemed tottering to its fall. An imprudent and unreason-

¹ *Whig Party*, ii, 227.

able attack on the Regent in the House of Commons offended friend and foe alike, and put the trump cards again into the hands of his opponents.

Before leaving for the present the subject of Brougham, we may quote a note from Holland to his son Charles, written, in his lightest vein, from the House of Lords, in November 1813 :—

I take a long sheet of paper, and Brougham is making a long speech, but you must not expect a long letter. . . . Brougham's argument is all in favour of allowing rabbits to make holes in a ground where Scotch boys play at golf. The Chancellor has just asked him whether Scotch or English rabbits scratch most. . . .

P.S. Old Adam has begun to speak in favour of *golf*, which he says when young he delighted in.

CHAPTER XV

1816-1818

NAPOLÉON, AND OTHERS

ON July 22, 1816, the Hollands, accompanied by three children, Allen and Joseph Blanco White, who had become Henry's tutor, set out on their autumn travels, this time to the North of England and Scotland. Little more than a week earlier Sheridan had been lowered to his grave in Poet's Corner in Westminster Abbey. He expired on July 7, and Lady Holland wrote a few days later to Francis Horner :—

Mrs Sheridan sent to see L^d H^d yesterday. He found her more composed, but very anxious to have every mark of respect shewn to the memory of Sheridan. It is not determined whether he is to be buried in W. Abbey or St James's Church. We are for the former, but Lauderdale inclines strongly to the latter. In either case the funeral will be conducted in the least expensive and simplest manner, and only remarkable from the attendance of his friends. She hopes the D. of Bedford will assist at the ceremony : she is bent upon going herself, and even *walking*, which would in all probability be fatal to her if she attempted it.

The Bishop of London read prayers the day before he died, and tho' he was quite incapable of speaking, his countenance expressed satisfaction at the ceremony. He was to the last full of kindness to his attendants ; and the old woman, a bailiff's wife, waited upon him gratuitously with great zeal, and he showed her the utmost gratitude, always extending his hand, whenever she came in or went out of the room. The Royal pittance ¹ was returned by D^r Bain with the know-

¹ A present of money sent to him by the Prince Regent.

ledge of Mrs S. The bounty so kindly sent by Canning was lying unopened on the table after Sheridan's death, so his good intentions were unknown and unaccepted.

Sheridan had dined at Holland House nearly a year before, in August, shortly after the return of the family from abroad, and spent three nights there later in the month. These were his last appearances there. The remaining months of his life were passed in miserable health and in constant fear of arrest for debt. Rogers did what he could for him, and took Holland to see him on his sick-bed in May.¹ Holland was one of the pall-bearers at the funeral, amongst whom were included Bedford, and Lords Lauderdale, Mulgrave and Spencer. Neither Grenville nor Grey were present. As a matter of fact the latter, earlier in the year, wrote of Sheridan in anything but complimentary terms. Holland has devoted several pages to the contradictions and complexities of his character in his *Memoirs*.² We need do no more here, therefore, than refer to one letter from him to his son, Henry, written on November 6, 1825, in which he speaks of Moore's biography:—

I have been reading Moore's *Life of Sheridan*. It is lively and entertaining, and on the whole gives the reader a just impression of Sheridan's good and bad qualities, though in discussing the particular actions of his life, he, in my judgment, often misrepresents the motive and misunderstands the effect. In short, he has got through a task beset with difficulties without absolutely surmounting or evading them, but without incurring so much odium or even criticism as one should have apprehended. There is imagination, talent, candour, or at least goodnature, in the work, and nothing tiresome. But the style is bad in point of taste, and the judgment he passes on men and things cannot be sound, for it is inconsistent and contradictory. One note on the indifference of great men to Sheri-

¹ *Rogers and his Contemporaries*, i, 216.

² *Further Memoirs*, p. 236, et seq.

dan's sufferings, and their vanity in attending his funeral, is intolerably unjust, at variance with facts, and stolen from the ravings of Dennis O'Brien.¹

As Henry's tutor, the above-mentioned Blanco White, had been an inmate of Holland House since September 1815, it is time to say something of this curious personality. José Maria Blanco was the grandson of an Irish Roman Catholic who had prospered in business in Seville. The boy became a subdeacon at an early age, but grew sceptical of the soundness of his religious beliefs, and lapsed for a year or two to all intents and purposes into atheism. The advance of the French in Spain forced him to fly the country, and offered a welcome means of escape from his priesthood. He reached England in 1810, alone and with few friends. Amongst their number was Lord Holland, whom he had met in 1808 and 1809. The latter gave him several useful introductions; and for the next four years White, as he now called himself, was responsible for the *Español*, a propagandist periodical which was circulated in the country of his birth partially under the auspices of the English Government. In 1814, with the assistance of Dr Shuttleworth, the friend of the Hollands and later Warden of New College, he settled at Oxford. He had again accepted Christianity, had become a Protestant, and even took orders, although his health was showing serious signs of a breakdown.

On the Hollands return from abroad in 1815, a tutor had to be found for Henry Fox, at that time a lad of thirteen. His father, doubtless at Shuttleworth's instigation, offered the post to White, which he accepted with many misgivings.

¹ Dennis O'Bryen (1755-1832), dramatist and political pamphleteer. Charles James Fox, whose friend he was, appointed him to a lucrative post in 1806. From certain correspondence with Lord Holland, it appears that in 1831 he was called upon to pay a debt of £500 for Fox.

The sceptical and almost anti-religious atmosphere of Holland House was completely uncongenial to him; although loaded with kindness by his employer and his wife, as he freely admitted. At the end of eighteen months, he could stand it no longer, notwithstanding his growing affection for his pupil and for little Georgina Fox, whom he was also teaching. "To describe the sufferings of my mind and body during that period," he wrote in his autobiography, "is quite impossible."¹

In January 1817 he asked leave to retire. The Hollands persuaded him with much trouble to stay on, but the thought of a trip abroad with them in the summer was the culminating point. He insisted on surrendering his post; but with it he surrendered no intimacy with Holland House. Two copies of his best-known work, *The Doblado Letters*, were sent there by him in 1822. His next work, however, *Evidences against Catholicism*, published in 1825, came as a shock to many of the circle. The Duke of Bedford wrote to Allen, "I see a very absurd, pompous, and in my opinion mischievous advertisement of Blanco White's work. Cannot he be content to change his religion as often as he pleases, without interfering with the rights of 6 million of British subjects? I fear this will confirm your opinion that priests are the same everywhere." Blanco continued to use the Holland House library, and his name often appears in the "Green Book." In it the very select few who were allowed to borrow books entered their selections. White lived until 1841, and at the time of Holland's death wrote to Charles Fox, "I could not grieve more for a dear brother."

Shortly after the return of the Hollands to Kensington in September 1816, Nicolo Ugo Foscolo, one of Italy's

¹ *Life of Blanco White* (Thom), p. 292, *et seq.* See also p. 218, *et seq.*

most illustrious writers, made his appearance there, introduced by Binda,¹ and stayed ten days. Foscolo was a native of Zante, but received most of his education in Venice, which he left in disgust at Napoleon's action in handing the city over to the Austrians instead of setting up a free Republic as he had hoped. He reached England, which became his future home, on September 11. "We are all *engoué* with him," said Holland to Rogers, who first met him at Holland House.² Lady Holland wrote of him to Horner :—

Foscolo, the celebrated writer, banished from Milan upon his refusal to take the oath to the Austrian Gov^t, and scurvily treated by Mr Stratford Canning and Castlereagh, when he applied for protection as a native of the Ionian Isles, has arrived here. . . . He is a child of the Sun, full of ardor and genius. The Cisalpine Republic employed him to address the First Consul. He grounded his speech upon the model of Pliny's to Trajan, filled with admonitions in favour of liberty. He resisted the French influence, and, finding himself baffled in his hopes of Italian Independence, he steadily refused all office under the French Govern^t. But after the Battle of Leipsic, he foresaw the fatal consequences that might ensue to the injury of the cause of general liberty, and became a zealous partizan in favor of Napoleon, soliciting office eagerly, which they were too happy to give him.

Jeffrey commissioned Foscolo through Allen, in April 1817, to write an article for the *Edinburgh Review* on the literature of Italy, and made some suggestions as to style and scope. "Foscolo is one of the cleverest men I ever saw," wrote Holland at the end of the year, "full of genius, information and ingenuity." By then, however, his spouse had begun to form an unfavourable opinion of their semi-permanent visitor, which was not improved by

¹ Professor Segré's *Relazione Letterarie*.

² *Rogers and his Contemporaries*, i, 224.

an unfortunate incident in 1821. The first edition of his *Essays on Petrarch* was printed that year, and only amounted to sixteen copies, one of which is in the *Library* at Holland House. Whilst engaged on this work, he borrowed from Holland House three letters, said to be written by the poet, but mislaid them so completely when changing his lodgings, that he had recourse to advertisements in the Press, coupled with the offer of a reward for their recovery. An entry, of date 1822, in a ledger kept in the *Library*—the above-mentioned “Green Book,” records their disappearance: and a subsequent note a year later denotes their return.

The episode is narrated at some length by Princess Liechtenstein,¹ who wrote in the belief that the letters were contemporary and genuine. Unfortunately, in the light of modern scholarship, this view can no longer be maintained. Holland related their history in a letter written in 1824 to the Abbé Meneghelli, who had published a statement that Foscolo vouched for their authenticity. He said that he had bought them in Madrid more than twenty years before, with other original letters of Sannazarius and Pontanus, also still at Holland House, from a certain Don Ysidro del Olmo, and that he himself took full responsibility for the belief that they were in Petrarch’s own handwriting. He confessed therefore that it was he who might have deceived Foscolo, not Foscolo him.

Foscolo’s last years were clouded by financial difficulties. His death in 1827 is referred to by Miss Caroline Fox in a letter to her nephew, Henry, “Foscolo died a few weeks ago in the arms of a daughter of his, aged 18; for whom Dr Holland is very benevolently exerting himself to procure, if possible, the place of a governess, and the means of improving herself and completing her own education until she can be so placed.” She had reasons to suspect too, she added, that Rogers might be attracted by the same charit-

¹ *Holland House*, ii, 134, 184, et seq.

able purpose, and might "undertake an Edition of his works with a sketch of a Life or Anecdotes prefixed." This scheme was, however, a matter of pure conjecture, and did not in fact materialise. Foscolo was buried in Florence, with great ceremony, in the church of Santa Croce. A number of his letters are preserved amongst Allen's papers.

The autumn of 1816 marked the last appearance of a very dear friend of the family, Francis Horner. His health had for some years been failing; and the doctors insisted in September that he must winter abroad. He had spent ten days at Holland House in October with his brother Leonard, and started on the 20th of that month, direct from Kensington, on his journey to Italy, whence he never returned.

Horner was born in Edinburgh in 1778, and became a member of the Speculative Society, where he struck up a close friendship with Lord Henry Petty, who was finishing his education there. Horner left Scotland for London in 1803, and was the first to introduce Brougham into Whig society—a service for which he was ill requited. He made little mark at first in the House of Commons, where he obtained a seat in 1806: but set himself to obtain a mastery of such intricate subjects as political economy and currency with such success, that he soon came to be recognised as a leading authority upon them. Horner's powers of oratory, too, grew in the same proportion; and Tierney, writing in 1815, foretold a great parliamentary future for him, if his health would stand the test. His gentle disposition and sweet temper endeared him to everyone with whom he came in contact; and great were the lamentations which followed the announcement of his premature death at Pisa early in February 1817, at the age of thirty-nine. Lord Carnarvon informed Holland from Rome, that Horner himself had recently been more hopeful of recovery, and

had written to him a fortnight before his death full of confidence and vivacity. The fatal change came suddenly ; and his death actually occurred while a consultation was in progress between his own physician and other doctors who had been summoned to give a further opinion.

Horner had been a constant visitor at Holland House since his arrival in England ; and no one was more overwhelmed by his death than Holland. The latter collected and printed the speeches made concerning his friend after his death, in the form of a pamphlet.

Yesterday at the general meeting of the African Institution [wrote Whishaw to Lady Holland], Mr Wilberforce spoke of poor Horner in very eloquent and affecting terms. It was a topic, he said, upon which the public feeling and voice were unanimous ; and he lamented that, thro' illness, he had not been present in the H. of Commons, when a tribute was paid to the virtues and talents of his friend such as never yet had been bestowed on any private individual.

Leonard Horner at once set about to edit his brother's letters and papers ; but the *Memoir* did not see light until 1843. In a letter which Macvey Napier, then editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, addressed to Allen, asking him to write a review of the work, if Jeffrey would not do it, he said :—

His *political* character is likely to withdraw all attention to his views in speculative philosophy, tho' they unquestionably formed a marked feature in his intellectual character ; insomuch that he was, probably, like Mackintosh (a greater man, and more richly endowed), fully as well suited for an Academical Chair as for the House of Commons. . . . Speaking of Horner's character, I think Leonard has acted very injudiciously in not printing Brougham's character with the other tributes. It strikes me as discriminating, just and eminently *fair*. As to his *conduct* to Horner, that is another matter, in regard to which I am not so well informed.

A portrait of Horner, head and shoulders, hangs at



ENTERING THE OAK ROOM AND MARSH'S ROOM



JUVENILE THEATRICALS

Holland House, founded on the picture now at the National Portrait Gallery, and slightly smaller than it. Whishaw, in a letter to Lady Holland on May 17, 1817, wrote, "Leonard Horner desires me to tell you that he has been watching the progress of the picture, and that Raeburn is bestowing great pains upon it, and it is likely to be very successful."

The dinners at Holland House during the last months of 1816 were not on the usual scale ; but a large company assembled on December 19, to witness juvenile theatricals. These were held in what was then known as Marsh's Room,¹ which was fitted up with scenery and green curtains. Scenes from various plays were acted ; the performers being Tierney's boy : Vernon and Leveson Smith, sons of Mr and Mrs Bobus Smith, who had returned from their sojourn in India in 1811 : George Howard, Morpeth's son : John Romilly, and Henry Fox. Lady Holland wrote to Horner, "In the *Lyar*, the *females* were Henry Webster, and Miss Godfrey was enacted by old Serafino Bonaiuti. When he raised his veil and displayed his black *museau*, it was a *coup de théâtre* to the amazement and diversion of the audience."

The same boys were at Holland House on Christmas Eve, when Mrs Charles James Fox arrived to stay the night ; and with that very youthful gathering, the old lady dined, and appears to have thoroughly enjoyed herself. "A very jolly party. Holland was away, attending Lord Stanhope's funeral, and did not return till late : whilst Lady Holland was too unwell to dine, but joined the large party in the Theatre and Drawing Room afterwards."² The general company included Lord and Lady Worcester, Mr and Mrs

¹ The room now known as the *White Parlour* on the ground floor.

² Diary.

Bobus Smith, Sir Samuel Romilly, Morpeth, Flahault, Foscolo, Allen and his brother, Henry Webster and Whishaw.

Holland had been left an executor to Lord Stanhope, one of eight or nine. "Citizen" Stanhope, as Charles, third Earl Stanhope was often known, would have been a remarkable man in any century. In the engineering world he only just missed the classification of a genius; for his inventions took the form of steam boats, of steam cars, and of printing presses, decades before their time, although their practical utility was almost invariably minimised by some weakness or defect. In politics, as his nickname portrayed, he was in complete sympathy with the French Revolution. Holland spoke of him as in some senses the truest Jacobin he ever knew;¹ but notwithstanding his independence of action and many eccentricities, he shone as a useful and diligent member of the House of Lords. "If the Opposition, as they are called," he wrote to Holland in 1815, "instead of taking up mere Party questions were, with the spirit that prevails in your breast and in mine, to exert themselves to spread *intellectual light to all*: to amend our laws to benefit the poor: to enable them to obtain *Justice*, which is their right as between man and man, but from which they are by unconstitutional expense debarred: and if such objects should be made to appear to be *their objects*, we need not despair of doing good, in spite of those who may, at first, resist us with success."

Holland appears to have won Stanhope's heart in 1799, although he was never able to discover the reason. He wrote at that time to his sister, Caroline Fox, "Lord Stanhope called here, and spent an hour or two with me. He was very entertaining, and full of encomiums of you, though you shared them with *blacksmiths* in general, who in body and mind, he said, were superior to most classes

¹ *Whig Party*, i, 34.

CHARLES, EARL STANHOPE

of men. 'Not a stroke on the anvil without intellect, such amazing, such charming intellect, Citizen !' "

Stanhope's home life, on the other hand, was peculiarly unattractive. He had no sympathy with his children, amongst whom, by his first marriage with Chatham's daughter, was that remarkable woman, Lady Hester Stanhope ; and equally they had none with him. Not one of them obtained a penny by his will beyond what was their due by former settlements. His landed property he could not alienate, but the residue of his real and personal property was divided amongst his executors. "Their dividend," wrote Lady Holland, "will probably be much foul language from Lord Mahon and a long Chancery suit." Holland received a special and additional legacy, in the shape of a fine portrait, head and shoulders, by Opie, painted before 1805, which was the date of the will. He subsequently composed the inscription for his friend's monument at Chevening.

Towards the end of January 1817, the family moved to what Lady Holland termed, "her gothic mansion," in Arlington Street, and remained there till March, when they returned to Kensington. Their stay there was limited by the lure of the Continent. They started on their travels at the end of June, and were absent till November, spending the time in the Low Countries and in Paris, where Holland was laid up in October with a bad attack of gout. Dinners that spring were larger than usual, especially on Sunday evenings, notwithstanding the fact that Holland was crying severe poverty in his letters. The names of Mackintosh, Luttrell, Lord Archibald Hamilton—a Whig politician and intimate, whose portrait by Lonsdale hangs in the *Journal Room*, the Abercrombys, Bobus Smiths, Binda and Foscolo appear most often in the Dinner Books.

Mrs Fox in her Diary spoke of a dinner on May 31, at which the Robert Spencers, George Ponsonbys, Flahault, Sydney Smith and others were present. "I thought it the pleasantest dinner I had had there for years. Lady Holland was very agreeable and looking in great beauty. L^d Holland, as he always is, delightful. . . . Got home [St Anne's Hill] at half past eleven." On another occasion, late in June, Mrs Fox dined with Caroline Fox at Little Holland House, and afterwards joined a large farewell party at the big House. George Crabbe, the poet, was staying there at the time, on Roger's introduction,¹ "a nice, unaffected old man." Holland wrote of him to Charles Fox in 1834, two years after his death, upon the publication of his *Works and Life*.

I have been reading Crabbe. It is painful, too painful, I grant. But how beautiful ! The *Life*, too, makes one love the man. I am more and more convinced that he was the greatest poet I ever saw. Religion gave him those very gloomy views. A little is perhaps good for any man, and certainly for a poet : but too much is good for neither. It is in that the reverse of learning.

Crabbe's *Parish Register*, published after Charles James Fox's death, was dedicated to Holland. His portrait, by Thomas Phillips, hung at Holland House until 1822, when it was removed by the instructions of John Murray, to whom it belonged. Phillips offered to paint a replica for Lady Holland, which was left to Lord Lansdowne by Lady Holland at her death in 1845. It used to hang at Lansdowne House, but has recently been sold.

On March 18, 1817, Holland moved in the House of Lords for papers connected with the treatment of Napoleon Bonaparte in St Helena. His chief complaints were :—

¹ Rogers and his Contemporaries, i, 245.

NAPOLEON AT ST HELENA

(1) The restriction of Napoleon's freedom to move about the island, the high ground where he was forced to reside being undoubtedly unhealthy.

(2) The refusal to allow him books and newspapers, or to permit him to subscribe for such publications as he thought proper.

(3) The fact that appeals and communications to the Regent in England were intercepted, and that, owing to the reduction of the Parliamentary grant made for his establishment, Napoleon had himself to provide money for the ordinary sustenance of himself and his entourage, and was even driven to sell his plate for that purpose.¹

Holland's sources of information were a letter of August, "The Remonstrance," from General Montholon to the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, and the personal communications which he had received from various members of the Imperial family. A pamphlet which purported to be by Santini, Napoleon's barber and tailor, recently expelled from the island, but which was proved to have been largely written by a certain Colonel Maceroni, a follower of Murat, was published about this time, and afforded Lord Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary, a good line of defence, by assuming that Holland was quoting from it. The latter, as a matter of fact, had been careful to keep clear of this publication, as appears from his letter to his son a few days later.

On affoiblit toujours tout ce qu'on exagère, and the misstatement of a single fact, when detected, diminishes the force

¹ This is corroborated by M. Octave Aubry (*Sainte-Hélène*, i, 251.) Lord Bathurst, however, had instructed Lowe in November, 1816, to increase the sustenance allowance, and permitted Napoleon to draw on his own funds. Lowe concealed this last fact for a year. The same work (i, 245, 285) shows that Santini was sent to Europe by the Emperor with a definite mission. He there fell in with Sir Robert Wilson and others, and by the exaggerated stories put forward weakened the case.

of a multitude of incontrovertible truths. I had occasion to think much of this principle lately, and whatever may have been the effect of my motion about Bonaparte (which, I dare-say, even you will hear carped at and censured), I avoided successfully any exaggeration either of the magnitude or the proof of the hardships he is exposed to. Had those who, contrary to my wishes, published the pamphlets and statements of Santini &c., &c., done the same, the impression of the necessity of mitigating his lot by lenient treatment would perhaps have been more general. I am afraid that my motion will prejudice many good men against me, and possibly do some little injury to our Party, but I cannot repent having made it, and, were it now *unmade*, should certainly move it as I did. For surely it would have been a disgrace to the country that such imputations should be thrown out, and not one publick man take notice of them.

This activity on Holland's part brought him letters of grateful thanks from various members of the Imperial family, then living in Rome. "Madame Mère," who signed herself, "la mere de l'Empereur Napoléon," wrote to ask him to get a letter conveyed to her son. She stated, in contradiction of Lord Bathurst's assertions in the House, that no missives for Napoleon had been received from his family, that she had forwarded several letters to his office by safe hands, and that they had travelled no further. Princess Pauline Borghese, Napoleon's sister, though not personally acquainted with Holland, also sent him, through Torlonia, the banker, a letter for the Emperor, and enclosed a list of necessaries, which she asked Holland to purchase at her expense and to arrange for their transmission. Shirts, handkerchiefs, eau-de-Cologne, and wine, "Bordeaux, Soterne, Lunel," were the most important items. Cardinal Fesch, and Prince Borghese also conveyed their sincere thanks. For Holland's persistence had had its way; and Bathurst agreed to forward the letters and articles, stating, however, that a somewhat similar consignment had already

been sent out by the Government on January 1, 1816, for the use of the captive.

This was by no means the first occasion upon which the Hollands had striven to assist the Emperor. Holland had strenuously objected to the original decision to send him to St Helena, and entered a Protest in the *Journals* of the House of Lords to that effect in April 1816, which was also signed by the Duke of Sussex.

Lady Holland, whose admiration for the great man was always expressed in superlatives, when in Florence in 1814 sent him some parcels of newspapers to Elba, and received in return a few small specimens of the iron ores of the island.¹ When Napoleon's fate was finally decided, she had applied to be allowed to send him articles likely to alleviate the rigours of his captivity. This request was refused. Nor did her attempts to cultivate the friendship of Sir Hudson Lowe, who was to be sent out as Governor of St Helena, meet with any better success, although he dined on several occasions at Holland House. Presents, however, of little or no importance, sent through him to the Emperor, did from time to time reach their destination, sometimes, it is true, after long delays, although Lowe himself was often not forgotten in the contents of these consignments.

Napoleon never wrote to Lady Holland himself; but in August 1816 grateful messages were dispatched to and received by the Hollands from him, through O'Meara, the surgeon of the *Bellerophon*, who remained in St Helena, and had written to Maitland, his late Captain. Thanks, too, from Madame Bertrand were included in the letter, for toys, etc. sent for her children. After the dismissal of Barry O'Meara from St Helena, he saw Lord Holland at Ampthill in September 1818 on his return home. Holland gave him assurances that he would support him, if he made a state-

¹ *Foreign Reminiscences*, p. 193, et seq.

ment regarding the treatment which Napoleon was receiving, and handed him over to Sir James Mackintosh, who assisted in drawing up his letter to the Admiralty. This document caused O'Meara's removal from the list of Naval Surgeons, without being given a chance to state his case. In 1831, when the Whigs had at last attained power, O'Meara applied to Holland to assist him to obtain reinstatement in his rank, but he was apparently still prosecuting his claims at the time of his death in 1836.

After Holland's motion, more latitude was granted by Lord Bathurst to Lady Holland as regards her presents. One rule was always insisted upon—that everything must go through his office ; but later on anything endorsed in her handwriting was passed without examination.¹ Lady Holland tried also to induce her friends to send out books and other gifts in her packing cases. The Duke of Bedford confessed he did not know what to send, and finally left the choice to her. Lord Robert Spencer sent him the *Life of Marlborough*, his own great-grandfather, as he and Napoleon had spoken of him on the occasion of his presentation at the Tuileries in 1802.

Lady Holland persuaded "our excellent friend the Warden," i.e., Allen (the Warden of Dulwich College), to undertake an article in the *Edinburgh Review* on a book entitled *Letters from S^t Helena*, compiled by William Warden, surgeon on the *Northumberland*, a publication of no importance. Allen's review appeared in the December number of 1816, and is of special interest to us, because the copy at Holland House was subsequently given to Lady Holland by O'Meara. It had belonged to Napoleon, and passages in it were marked by him in pencil, with the result unfortunately that the annotations are too faint to be decipher-

¹ *Foreign Reminiscences*, p. 201. According to the inventory made at Napoleon's death, the total of volumes sent out by Lady Holland amounted to 475. (*Sainte-Hélène*, ii. 276).

able.¹ A note in Lady Holland's handwriting records the fact that Napoleon, on reading the review, expressed much surprise at the intimate knowledge displayed by the writer of certain events in his early life, which he himself had almost forgotten.

A conversation between Creevey and Wellington in Brussels on the subject of Napoleon's detention may here be quoted. It is contained in a letter from Creevey to Holland of January 8, 1819 :—

I began by asking him if our Government could not, consistently with their notion of their duty, allow Buonaparte a little more elbow room, and if he did not think Lowe a most unnecessarily harsh gaoler. He said the system of guarding Buonaparte had hitherto been quite wrong, and that it was going to be entirely altered. He said he himself knew the Island perfectly well, and this guarding him by a fleet was nonsense : that it had cost the Government £200,000 per annum for nothing. With respect to Lowe, he said he was a damned *stupid* fellow. . . . I could not get him to admit that the said Lowe was "*damned troublesome*" to Buonaparte, who he said was an impracticable man, and that it was absolutely necessary an officer should always ride out with him, and that he should be seen in his own house every night and morning.²

On the very day of the family's return to Holland House from abroad, November 19, 1817, Princess Charlotte, who had married Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg during the previous year, was buried at Windsor. She had died in childbirth on November 5. Holland wrote to his son Charles, a month later, "The death of the poor Princess, which was shocking enough, has partly from imagination,

¹ Princess Liechtenstein gives a list of the actual passages marked by the Emperor. (*Holland House*, ii, 143, *et seq.*)

² This letter refers to the conversation mentioned in the Memorandum printed in *Creevey Papers* (i, 288).

partly from hypocrisy, and partly from a hatred of those who survive, been lamented with an exaggeration of which you can form no notion ; and they say that it will kill more *unborn* infants than Herod did live innocents."

A letter from Lady Crewe to Caroline Fox, in the year 1811, gives an interesting account of the young Princess whom the people of England had come to regard as their future Queen. The occasion was a dinner of fourteen, given by the Princess of Wales.

You shall hear how *she struck us all*, for there was but one voice about *her* ! and I was quite surprised at her improvements. She is already much taller than her mother, and looks as if she w^d grow much more. Her figure is slim, and what a girl's sh^d be at 15 ; her face, tho' not quite regular, is very pleasing, a good deal like her Father's, but *more oval*, and her smile is quite cheerful and unaffected, without being too often repeated. Her hair resembles that of her mother, which is less flaxen than our Royal Family's, and the dress of her head and whole figure was simple, and, tho' magnificent in point of materials, *proper for a country visit*. She appeared to observe us all *very much*, and chatted a good deal with the Ladies she was intimate with in a *youthful, merry way*, but I c^d discover nothing *sly* or *saucy* in her *countenance* ; and if I wished to alter *anything* in her deportment, it w^d be her *laugh*, which is *sometimes* rather too loud, and too like that of her *whole Family* ! L^d Lansdowne was her beau at dinner, and she whisper'd to Miss Hayn that she thought him *remarkably agreeable*, and unlike M^r Sharpe whose manners did *not* please her—and this you will allow shows some degree of discrimination.

The Dinner Books note that the Princess made her first appearance in public on February 22, 1812, at the Opera, after dining at Carlton House.

A bereavement of a much more intimate nature befell the Hollands early in 1818. Lord Upper Ossory passed away on February 1. They had been staying with him at

Amphill only a week before. "My poor Uncle," wrote Holland to Grey, "died as he had often wished to do, without a moment's warning or the slightest pain. 'I am giddy,' he said, as he was playfully preparing to show his little daughter the steps of a minuet, and sinking into a chair never spoke afterwards."

John Fitzpatrick, second Earl of Upper Ossory, was the eldest brother of Mary, Lady Holland, and took charge of her two children at her death in 1778.¹ He was born in 1745, and married, in 1769, after her divorce, Anne Liddell, the wife of Augustus Henry, third Duke of Grafton, at one time Prime Minister. Two daughters were born of the marriage, Anne in 1774, and Gertrude in 1776. To them, he left his country seat in Northamptonshire, Farming Woods, and his house in Grosvenor Place in London, with its contents; whilst Amphill Park, in Bedfordshire, indeed all his property in that county, with the "useful furniture," in the house, he bequeathed to Lord Holland, subject to a charge of £5000 in favour of Charles Richard Fox. Certain pictures which had originally been the property of the first and second Lords Holland, and had passed by Mary, Lady Holland's will to her brother, now returned to the Fox family. Further pictures, the statuary and ornamental furniture in the house, a collection of Natural History specimens, and a large number of books, were left to the Trustees and were purchased by Holland from them. Some pictures from Holland House were temporarily moved to Amphill during the Hollands occupation, and when later the property was sold these and quite a number of others were brought back to Kensington.

Holland was delighted to acquire a residence to which he had been attached from his earliest memories. "All these considerations," he wrote, "make it a subject of

¹ See *ante*, p. 106.

congratulation from my friends ; but it is impossible at first not to feel the loss of the person to whom I owe it, and who certainly was in conduct to me during my long minority, and in affection and advice afterwards, a more judicious, useful and tender *father* than most people have the advantage of having." "The property," he wrote to Charles Fox, "is not so great an accession to my fortune as to my future comfort and pleasure : the estate with the encumbrances not being more than is necessary to keep up the house and gardens." Indeed, some years later, the estate became somewhat of a white elephant. Owing to financial embarrassments from other sources, the Hollands were often unable to keep the house open, and with falling rents they eventually found it an expensive luxury.

After his wife's death in 1804, Lord Upper Ossory had formed a connection with a certain Elizabeth Wilson, who was possibly, to quote Lord Egremont, a daughter of Lord Carlisle, although that parentage was in no way acknowledged. Lord Egremont wrote that he had heard from Ossory's own lips, that he had offered to marry Mrs Wilson a few years previous to his death, but that the lady had refused. Three children were born to her, a daughter Mary,¹ who married Vernon Smith, eldest son of the Bobus Smiths, afterwards created Lord Lyveden : and two sons John and Richard. The elder of these was subsequently raised to the Barony of Castletown. Holland was appointed a guardian to the children. The reversion of Upper Ossory's Northamptonshire properties, including Farming Woods, were left to Mary Wilson after the deaths of the Ladies Fitzpatrick ; while the Irish property went to John on condition that he took the name of Fitzpatrick.

Lord Upper Ossory's features are twice represented at Holland House, a small water-colour copy, by William

¹ Lord Upper Ossory's will speaks of her as " Mary, otherwise Emma Wilson."

Skelton, of Reynolds's three-quarter-length portrait belonging to Lord Castletown ;¹ and a small pencil sketch, head and shoulders, by Reynolds. This was given to Holland by the sitter, drawn at Ampthill on the occasion of one of Sir Joshua's visits to Ampthill, when painting Lady Gertrude Fitzpatrick. Holland related that the painter one day hearing the hounds in Redding's Wood, ran up the avenue on to the crest of the hill, and lingered there half the day in amazement at the beauty of the scenery.

A few days after Upper Ossory's death came another shock. Charles Fox was reported to have met with a serious accident in Corfu, through the explosion of a large canister of gunpowder. He had spent the early part of the year 1817 with his regiment in Liverpool, and then, through the good offices of Lord Lauderdale, was offered and accepted the post of aide-de-camp to Major-General Sir Frederick Adam, who had recently been appointed Commander of the British Division at Malta and on the Mediterranean station. He left England with his chief at short notice on May 15. It would appear that the accident was largely due to his own carelessness, and that it might have had serious consequences to his eyes. That danger, however, was averted ; and by the time that he returned to England in June, he had quite recovered.

¹ This faces p. 338.

CHAPTER XVI

1818-1820

THE END OF A LONG REIGN

DINNERS recommenced on a fairly grand scale, when the family returned to Holland House from their Clifford Street residence at the end of March 1818, the first being a large party for further children's theatricals on April 4. Scenes from *Venice Preserved*, *The Rivals* and *The Liars*, were those selected.

The Duke of York dined on July 7, the Jerseys, Alvanley, Jekyll, Sir H. Torrens and Rogers to meet him. The Duke was upset at dinner by something said by Lady Jersey, and to calm him Jekyll asked him to drink a glass of brandy with him, as that usually had the desired effect. There was found to be none in the House; and after the Duke of York had left, Lady Holland turned on Jekyll, "You did it on purpose, on the chance of finding that there was none." "I, Lady Holland! I suppose that anything could be wanting at Holland House! I fully believe that if I had called for a slice of broiled rhinoceros with cobra sauce, it would have been brought to me on the instant."¹

Mackintosh, Binda, Luttrell and Rogers were constantly staying in the House at this time, as well as old Dumont and Brougham. Sir Samuel and Lady Romilly too were regular guests, up to the time when the Hollands moved to Ampthill in August for two months.

Romilly was the one member of that dispirited band of

¹ *Quarterly Review*, 1873.

Whigs who was making a name for himself. He was steadily forging his way to the front ; and after the dissolution of Parliament in 1818, he had received the high honour of election for Westminster. Holland's acquaintance with Romilly, which developed into a friendship of a most intimate nature, doubtless dated from the latter's visits to Bowood in his youth. Romilly, born in 1757, was brought into touch with Lord Lansdown through Bentham, Dumont and Mirabeau, and stayed with him on many occasions. There he first met his future wife, Anne, daughter of Francis Garbett, of Knill Court, Herefordshire, in 1796, and married her two years later. Romilly, by 1806, had already made a big name for himself at the Bar, and was appointed Solicitor-General in the Ministry of all the Talents. He obtained a seat in the Commons a few months later. He made his first appearance in Kensington in May 1801, after which his name occurs with more and more frequency in the Dinner Books. Sydney Smith wrote of the Romillys in 1812, "The wise male and the fair female,

One full of legal wiles,
T'other sweet with dimpled smiles.
He fam'd for legislation,
She made for procreation."

The tragedy of his death on November 2, 1818, was an overwhelming blow to the multitude of his friends in general and to the Whig Party in particular. His activities in Parliament had been largely devoted to the cause of diminishing the rigours of the law when these could be shown to be unnecessary ; and in the session which had closed that summer, his opposition to the renewal of the Alien Act had greatly increased his prestige. Brougham and others spoke of him as the coming leader of the party ; but the Fates willed otherwise. Lady Romilly, whom he adored, was in failing health—the result, Lady Holland

declared many years afterwards, of a journey on the Continent in great heat a year or two earlier, of which neither she, her husband nor her daughter ever really threw off the effects. A house was taken for her in the Isle of Wight ; but no improvement ensued, and there she died on October 29.

The system imposed on her husband by the doctors, of not allowing him to see her for the last fortnight of her life, had the result of throwing him completely off his balance. His younger children were housed at Holland House during their mother's illness, the eldest son and daughter alone being with their parents. Dumont accompanied him on the sad journey to London on their way to Knill, where Lady Romilly was to be buried, and as he passed the gates in Kensington, observed, " There are some of your treasures." Romilly turned his head away, and smiled faintly. He arrived at his house in Russell Square, worn out in mind and body, and by an unfortunate concatenation of circumstances was left alone, and was thus enabled to lay violent hands on himself next afternoon, with fatal results.

Whilst Lady Romilly lay dying, Caroline Fox wrote in despair of the prospect of losing such a friend, one " to whom our attachment has grown without interruption since the days we first became acquainted with her in all the bloom of youthful, and I may say transcendent, beauty at Bowood. Had she been less happy, we could have borne it better, but what can be more heart-breaking than to see her thus early taken away from all that could make life valuable and delightful here." Holland's eulogies of Romilly's character are already printed,¹ and we need add nothing to them. But it may be interesting to cite a letter from Lafayette.

La déplorable catastrophe qui nous a privé d'un grand et

¹ *Further Memoirs*, p. 263.

GEORGE PONSONBY

excellent citoyen, d'un homme si précieux à ses amis, à sa famille, à sa patrie, et à l'Humanité entière, a été senti en France comme une calamité nationale. Le caractère, les vertus, et les talents de Sir Samuël Romilly étaient depuis longtemps connus ici : mais sa noble et sensible conduite à l'égard des protestants français l'avait plus particulièrement popularisé et en quelque sorte naturalisé parmi nous. Ce ne sont seulement ceux qui, comme moi, avaient l'avantage de le connaître personnellement, dont les regrets se mêlent aux vôtres : le sentiment a été général.

A picture of Sir Samuel by Hoppner, head and shoulders, hangs in the *Journal Room*. Apparently it was used by the sculptor Chantrey for a posthumous bust, after the failure of his efforts to produce a likeness from the portrait by Lawrence, now in the National Portrait Gallery. We have nothing to show us, however, whether the marble was ever actually executed.

George Ponsonby, the nominal leader of the Whigs, had died suddenly in 1817. He had called on Tierney on the very morning of the day when he was taken ill, and, as if possessed with some presentiment of what was to happen, spoke far more openly to him than he had ever done before of his private affairs and of the impossible situation in which he had recently been placed as head of the Opposition in the Commons. He announced, too, quite plainly, that he intended to resign his seat in Parliament at the end of the session, and to retire into private life. Many regrets were expressed on personal grounds at his demise, but on public ones there were but few. Thomas Grenville wrote, "The office has latterly taken the unfortunate course of the leader following his army instead of conducting it, which is good for nothing except in cases of retreat and defeat." Brougham, too, said that for a long time past there had been no leader at all : and took the line that for the moment there was no need to make any definite appointment of a successor. The remainder of the party,

however, dissented from this view ; and George Tierney, slipping automatically into the post, which was certainly his by right of long service and ability, was able to consolidate his position, in proportion as Lord Grenville moved further from the Foxite Whigs in the direction of Liverpool's Government.

Tierney, however, proved barely more successful than his predecessor in his leadership. He had shown his independence too often in the past to have conciliated the rank and file of the party. He had eschewed secession, when that had been the recognised policy of the Whigs, and had continued to attend Parliament, to the advancement of his personal position in the Commons. He belonged to no clubs ; and his lineage (he was sprung from a family of merchants) did not endear him to the more aristocratic of his colleagues. Nor did some hesitation in taking any weighty decision, inspire that general confidence on which the success of leadership is bound to depend. On the other hand, in the circle of his intimate friends, his social gifts endeared him to everyone with whom he came in contact. He was witty, he was amusing, he was reliable ; and his integrity was recognised as being beyond dispute. " He is the most agreeable man in England," wrote Lady Caroline Lamb, and noted " his beloved glassy eyes, bushy brows and satisfactory mouth." The alacrity displayed by his intimate friends in endeavouring to sustain his impaired finances in 1815 bears witness to the affection which he inspired in them. At Holland House he had been a welcome guest for years without number ; and his affection for his hostess was equalled by his devotion to her husband. A picture of Tierney, after Lemuel Abbott, reproduces his features in Kensington.

At the end of the year 1818, which also witnessed the

HENRY FOX

initiation of the *Journals* of Charles Greville and Thomas Moore, a new source of information respecting the doings at Holland House becomes available—the *Journal* of young Henry Fox.¹ His mother some years later wrote that a lady, upon hearing that he kept a diary and drew characters, said that it ought to be called, “Fox’s Martyrs” ! The boy was nearly seventeen at the time. He had been delicate from youth, as we have already seen—too delicate, it was thought, for the rough and ready methods of the public schools of that day, especially as until the age of fourteen or fifteen he was still liable to sudden attacks of illness. He remained at home, therefore, often accompanying his parents on their travels, with or without a tutor, amongst the number of whom may be cited the Rev. Philip Shuttleworth, shortly to become Warden of New College and later Bishop of Chichester : Joseph Blanco White : and Matthew Marsh, his father’s old friend, rector of Winterslow, near Salisbury. With the last-named Henry took up his abode at the end of 1817. From an early age his studies in the Greek language seem to have been under his father’s personal care.

The opening pages of his *Journal* speak of the deaths of two members of a former generation, who were closely connected with Holland House and its occupants, those of Lady Crewe and Sir Philip Francis. The latter had long been in a desperate state of health, and when at Holland House a few months before his decease said, “I shall perhaps never come here again. I came to take my leave of it, and to show that here I began, here I end,” referring to the start which Henry, Lord Holland had given him in life.

Henry Fox records the fact that the family sat in the “Drawing room,” the apartment now known as the *Sir Joshua Room*, on Christmas Eve for the first time that year,

¹ Published by the present writer in 1923.

and that the pictures which had been restored to the House by Lord Upper Ossory's will had been placed there.

The year 1819 witnessed a real tragedy. Georgina Fox died of tubercular peritonitis in the late autumn at the age of ten, after an illness of several months' duration. She had been moved to Holland House early in October, when hopes were entertained of her recovery; but she was beyond the powers of human assistance, and there she passed away. It was many months before her parents, and Lady Holland in particular, recovered from the shock. The child was buried at Millbrook, near Amptill, on November 8; and a monument was erected to her in the church there, a plain marble bust, the head encircled with a wreath of snowdrops, executed by Westmacott. Lord John Russell wrote of it in 1821, "It is as like as possible, especially the profile." A replica is in *Allen's Room*. This belonged to Allen, who adored the little girl, and was left to the late Lord Holland at his death. An annual charity, which is still duly administered, was instituted in memory of the child, in the shape of gifts of clothing to poor school children in the parish where she lies buried.

The Hollands spent less of their time than usual in Kensington that year, only returning from a house which they had taken in St James's Square at the end of April. Ticknor spoke of dining constantly with the Hollands in St James's Square.

I do not well know how dinners and evenings could be more pleasant. There was no alloy but Lady Holland, whom I did not like, but I should have been very foolish if I had suffered that to prevent my enjoyment, when to avoid it I had only to talk to someone else. Lord Holland is an open-hearted gentleman, kind, simple and hospitable, a scholar with few prejudices, and making no pretensions, either on the score of his rank, his fortune, his family, his culture or anything else. I never met a man who so disarms opposition in discussion, as I have



JOHN

Second Earl of Upper Ossory

From a water-colour by W. Skelton, after Sir Joshua Reynolds



often seen him, without yielding one iota, merely by the unpretending simplicity and sincerity of his manner.

A few months later he wrote again, "Then Lord Holland lived at St James's Square in town, and had almost none but men of letters about him . . ." But when at Holland House, "Parliament was in full session, so that the chief members of the Opposition, especially Lord Grey and Earl Spencer were much there. There was more of fashion and politics than when I came there before, and I had two very interesting dinners with them, one when only Brougham and Sismondi were present."¹

Creevey was staying at Holland House for several nights in May; and Thomas Moore wrote of a dinner on May 19, a day or two later, at which Mrs Charles James Fox was present. Holland was absent with the gout:—

The censer flung round the room by Lady H.'s page after dinner seemed to astonish Murray, the Advocate, who had not, I suppose, seen the ceremony before; and I was myself a little astonished on hearing, as I came away, a very good voice singing to the guitar, and finding it was the *butler*, who was accompanying himself in an Italian air. By the bye, the incense burned after dinner here comes from a Convent in Spain, which gets it from another establishment connected with it in the North of Persia."²

Staying there in June, Moore noted that he was sleeping in one of the rooms lately fitted up, "the prettiest thing imaginable," and that nightingales were singing most of the night.

The Duke and Duchess of Bedford were constant visitors. John, Duke of Bedford had succeeded his elder brother, Francis, in 1802. He had lost his first wife in 1801, a daughter of George, fourth Viscount Torrington, who apparently at one time bore a close likeness to Lady Holland,

¹ *Memoirs*, i, 264, 294.

² *Moore's Diary*, ii, 311.

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for Mrs Wyndham wrote to the latter in 1792, "I think nobody can now mistake Lady John Russell for you. All the rouge that is possible to put on can never give her that degree of beauty necessary to produce a resemblance between her and you." His second wife, Lady Georgina Gordon, was engaged to marry his brother at the time of the latter's death. Her mother, the Duchess of Gordon, celebrated for her success as a matchmaker by the great marriages made by her numerous daughters, was reported to have boasted openly that Georgina should marry the head of the family of Russell. Nor could death rob her of her prey. In due course the new Duke also fell a victim to the young lady's charms and beauty, and led her to the altar in 1803.

Bedford was sent to Ireland, as Lord-Lieutenant, during the Whig Ministry of 1806-7. His grandfather, also John, Duke of Bedford, had held the same post just fifty years earlier. He wrote to Holland in 1829 :—

I have been amusing myself with looking over some of my grandfather's papers, and I find two or three curious coincidences. In a letter to Lord Digby in 1756, he says he has undertaken the Government of Ireland, "at the earnest desire of M^r Fox." In 1806, I undertook the Gov^t of Ireland *at the earnest desire of M^r Fox*. He says in the same letter, he will make no promises before he goes to Ireland, that he may not be accused of breaking a promise. In 1806, I said precisely the same thing.

In another letter Bedford wrote :—

Bobus Smith was quite right. People say that my grandfather used to give his nieces, as *Birthday presents*, pensions on the Irish Establishment. Aunt Ebby¹ had, I think, hers on her first Birthday, when she was one year old ! But let not all this foul stain on the Russells be ever whispered to the

¹ Miss Elizabeth Vernon.

JOHN, DUKE OF BEDFORD

immaculate Joseph Hume ! What will he say, if he hears that the great grandfather of the patriot leader had been guilty of such *grosses jobs* ?

Bedford never took any leading part in politics after that appointment, and devoted himself chiefly to his immense estates. "The truth is," he wrote to Lady Holland in 1821, "I want both talent and practice for public speaking ; and when my mind is full of matter, I am unable to express it, and leave unsaid half what I wish to say." He added very substantially to the collections at Woburn in the course of journeys to Italy and France ; and incidentally was responsible for the selection, in 1818, of four three-branch ormolu sconces, now in the *Journal Room* at Holland House, which its master had commissioned him to find in Paris.

The Duke was seven years older than Holland, but his friendship and that of his second wife with the Fox family was of the closest nature, as is testified by several volumes of correspondence. Holland and the Duchess in particular became great allies. The proximity of Amptill to Woburn naturally brought them all closer together than ever, and drew the suggestion from the Duke after Ossory's death, that the latter had arranged his testamentary dispositions with that very purpose in view. Bedford's advice proved a godsend to Holland, who had little previous knowledge of the management of a country estate. But the former did not fail at times to impress his opinions almost sternly upon his friend. Even before the year was out, Holland was beginning to get into trouble with his neighbours. This must be remedied at once, said the Duke. Holland must do three things. He must unlock the gates of Amptill Park which he had closed against the public : he must subscribe largely to the Infirmary : and he must make a point of attending the local races !

But close association in the country was insufficient

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intercourse to satisfy the two families ! The Bedfords in 1823, after a serious illness of the Duke in the previous year, must needs move to Kensington, and take over the house and grounds adjoining Holland House gardens on the East side of Holland Walk. This was renamed Bedford Lodge, and comprised part of what was next called Argyll Lodge, and later Cam House. A street nearby still bears the Duchess's name. All through the period of which we now write, we find the names of the Duke's numerous progeny—three sons by his first marriage, and seven sons and three daughters by his second, figuring constantly in the Dinner Books. Lord John Russell, the youngest member of his first family, had accompanied the Hollands to Spain in 1808.

The year 1820 was one full of incident. Holland wrote to his son as early as February, "A King's death, a Queen's character, a French Prince's murder, and an assassination plot to sweep away a whole Cabinet at once, seem such grand subjects, that it appears preposterous to say one has nothing to write about." The death of George III took place at the end of January, less than a week after that of his son, the Duke of Kent. Holland had only twice seen the King in private. When he went to kiss hands for the Privy Seal in 1806, after Charles James Fox's death, the King never mentioned his uncle. When he went to resign it, King George was demented. "I was glad to get out of the room," said he, "as fast as I could."¹

The Duke of Kent's demise was due, according to the newspapers, "to wet boots and his confidence in a strong constitution," for his life was commonly reported to be the best in the Royal Family. Holland had been received in audience by him in Brussels in 1817, and then remarked

¹ *Lord Broughton's Recollections*, iii, 250.

that he had lost none of his manners, sensible conversation, or good health by his "œconomical retreat."

On fine phrases about the Duke of Kent's Royal father, Holland, as a good Whig, was not likely to waste much time. Indeed, he did not spare his invectives against his late Sovereign in a letter to his son Henry :—

In spite of the cold weather, many are gone to the funeral. With such keen blasts it will not be *veniunt spectentur ut ipsi*, but *sepeliantur ut ipsi*. I shall be glad when it is over, for the lavish and unmerited praises bestowed on the late King make me sick and almost angry ; and as many are meant as sneers at His present Majesty they soften me so far to him, that by making him contrast to his father they may [make] me like him more than I did. There was nothing good done in his reign, that was not done against his will ; and some of the worst things, the Royal Marriage Act, the American War, were peculiarly his own measures. It is delightful to hear him and his mother commended for lamenting that G.2 did not pay Fred. Prince of Wales's debts. They never paid them themselves when they had the power, but on the contrary defrauded his creditors and concealed the plate to which they were entitled, till the time prescribed by the Statute of Limitations was over. So much for his *honesty*.

It was reported at the time of Colonel Napier's death in 1804 that King George expressed great commiseration at Lady Sarah Napier's misfortune ; and his sympathy took a more practical form a year later—a pension of £800 a year, to be divided between her and her daughters.¹ Lady Hester Stanhope seems to have been very helpful with Pitt in that matter. Lady Sarah's sight had then for some time been failing, and five or six years later she became totally blind. Caroline Fox wrote of her in 1804, "Lady Sarah is still beautiful, but it is the beauty

¹ *Lady Sarah Lennox*, ii, 200.

of age, a charming countenance, great freshness of colour, and beautiful *white* locks overhanging her pretty eyes, which the total blindness of one has not disfigured."

An impressive and touching reminiscence, in George Tierney's handwriting, of the woman who might probably have been Queen of England, had she so willed, is preserved at Holland House. He related how in 1814 he attended a service at St James' Church to hear a charity sermon preached by the Dean of Canterbury, Dr Andrews, in aid of an eye infirmary. The Dean expatiated eloquently on the help which the institution had from time to time received from King George, himself totally and incurably blind. Tierney wrote, "On the seat immediately before me sat an elderly lady who appeared to be deeply affected by the whole of this part of the discourse. She wept much, and as she evidently took a more than ordinary interest in all she heard, she attracted my notice in no slight degree; and the more so when, the service being concluded, I observed that she herself was quite helpless from the entire loss of sight, and was obliged to be led out of church." The interest of the story lies in his discovery that the lady in question was Lady Sarah Napier.

Sorrow and tribulation were certainly Lady Sarah's lot as time went on, but no one could have shown more angelic patience in the trials which beset her. Her youngest daughter Cecilia died in 1808. Charles, her eldest son, was severely wounded at Coruña, and for three months was mourned as dead, to return safely to his family at the end of that time, cured of his wounds. Two of her other four sons were also on active service in the Peninsula, and one was at sea: while to make things worse, in the very midst of her anxiety for them in 1811, her eldest surviving sister, the Duchess of Leinster, passed away. In 1821 Lady Louisa Conolly was also taken—her favourite of them all—with whom she had kept house for some years; and her

own end came in August 1826. Caroline Fox wrote to her nephew, Henry :—

Poor Lady Sarah, at the age of 82, died without a groan. I shall ever remember her with gratitude for her kindness to me from the earliest dawn of my recollections, and I shall remember too that she was once the most beautiful, and always one of the most agreeable and fascinating persons that I have ever known, bearing the privation of sight with a cheerfulness and resignation I never saw equalled. But since her sister LY Louisa's death, she has had no enjoyment of life. I am persuaded it has been a burden from which she has long prayed to be released.

Of recent years Holland had had little personal intercourse with the new King. As Prince of Wales the latter had dined on several occasions at Holland House in old days, and in 1808 had presented to Lady Holland his bust by Nollekens, which now stands at the top of the *Great Staircase*. But after the political squabbles between him and the Whigs in 1811 and 1812 and the consequent loss of sympathetic understanding between them, his relations with Holland, the faithful friend and follower of Grey, became more and more strained. Differences of opinion, too, between them on the subject of the restoration of the Bourbons ; and an obsession on the part of the Regent that the other had induced the Duke of Sussex to add his signature to the Protest, which he had entered in 1816 in the *Journals* of the House of Lords against the Bill for Napoleon's detention,¹ did not tend to any better feeling.

In October 1819, however, Holland had occasion to request an audience with his Royal Highness, in order to present a petition from the Corporation of Nottingham. He had been appointed Recorder of that town in 1809, after the death of the Duke of Portland, owing to the

¹ *Further Memoirs*, p. 220.

devotion of its inhabitants to his uncle—a compliment which he esteemed very highly. Holland wrote at the time that on those grounds his selection had not surprised him, but that an allusion during the inaugural ceremony to “his regard for economy in his private concerns,” as an outstanding trait of his character, was not exactly what he had expected !

H.R.H. took up the conversation, avoided all allusion to the business of the petition or to politicks, and very graciously, but without effort or palaver, talked upon a variety of subjects, chiefly sculpture and painting. . . . He is enormously fat, but in complexion and countenance is clearer and better looking than I have seen him for many years.

At the time of King George III’s death, Holland was laid up with a bad attack of gout. Lauderdale wrote him an account of the first meeting of the Privy Council, which he attended, only to find himself the sole member of the Opposition present. After the form of Proclamation was read over :—

The members of the Privy Council then went up stairs, where we found the Duke of Sussex standing by himself at the window in the outer room where we were assembled, and as Privy Counsellors we came to the usual resolutions concerning the form of proclaiming the Sovereign, &c. The doors of the inner room were then open’d, where we found His Majesty, the Dukes of York, Clarence, Gloucester, and Prince Leopold sitting at the counsel table, at which the Duke of Sussex also took his seat. The King then read his declaration, which he did with great tremor of voice, and on mentioning his father was obliged to stop with sobbing. He then took the oaths ; and the Princes of the Blood were separately sworn of the Privy Council. He was gracious to all—I should say particularly so to Leopold, throwing into his countenance an expression that indicated the recollection of the poor Princess.

THE QUEEN'S TRIAL

To the Duke of Sussex he was very stern and forbidding.¹ . . . When the ceremony was over His Majesty was most gracious to me. He gave me a smile when I went up, and another on parting with his hand, which I attributed to my being almost the only person in full dress and accurately equipp'd as the last night's Gazette directed.

Holland was opposed to the proceedings against Queen Caroline, upon which the King had insisted, foreseeing the scandal which such a Bill in Parliament must inevitably arouse. He blamed the Government whole-heartedly for their weakness in allowing themselves to be cajoled into omitting Her Majesty's name from the Liturgy, a measure which was bound to bring about an immediate crisis, for it compelled direct action and on dangerous ground. Brougham, who, according to Princess Liechtenstein, slept at Holland House the night before his great speech at the trial,² even claimed Holland as being, "*at heart* a real friend of the Queen." On the other hand, Lady Holland took quite the opposite view, and, if we may believe Creevey, expressed much virtuous indignation against her,³ influenced perhaps by a wish to stand well with the new reign.

In the autumn, when the Bill of Divorce came before the House of Lords, Holland was in his place to oppose the Government, but took little personal part in the proceedings. He employed his time chiefly, as he confessed,⁴ in writing nonsensical puns and epigrams. One or more of these may be quoted :—

¹ The Prince's coldness to the Duke of Sussex seems to have originated in the influence which he believed that his brother had obtained over Princess Charlotte, and in the above-mentioned episode of the Protest about Napoleon. As early as 1814, Erskine had refused to dine at Holland House to meet the Duke, for fear of offending the Regent.

² *Holland House*, i, 239.

³ *Memoirs*, ii, 3.

⁴ *Further Memoirs*, p. 289.

THE END OF A LONG REIGN

August 16, 1820.

In the business which summons their Lordships to town,
They will all be knocked up, if they are not knocked down.
And no creature can gain by the acts of the House,
But Peers, eldest sons, Law advisers and grouse.

August 19, 1820.

On Her Majesty asleep in Upper House.
Here her conduct no proof of the charges affords,
She sleeps with no menials, she sleeps with the Lords.

In a letter to his son Henry in October, Holland wrote :—

We have had the greatest rogue yet before us to-day, a clerk of the Queen's Agent, who acknowledges that he sold the Queen's letters and papers entrusted to him confidentially to Vimercati, the Advocate on the other side. One of the persons employed in collecting and paying for evidence was a tobacconist, whom the witness described as a person of character. The Chancellor sent me this note thereupon. "I suppose Vimercati employed Reganti, *the Tobacconist*, as a person of the proper *Character* to be employed to give witnesses a *Quid pro quo*."

You see great men make nonsensical jokes, as well as such little ones as sit on the Opposition benches.

The Hollands did not leave Holland House for any length of time in 1820 until late in the year. Their most interesting visitor was Sir Walter Scott, who made his first appearance there in April. Scott was too closely associated with the Tories—he was in fact their outspoken partisan, to be a *persona grata* with the Hollands. He had received a Government appointment in Scotland, a clerkship of the Court of Session, early in 1806, and was confirmed in it by the Whigs on taking office. Notwithstanding this, he shortly afterwards proceeded to write a song which gloried in the failure of the impeachment of Lord Melville. He thus gave great offence to the Whigs, especially, it has been

stated, on account of the words, "Tally-ho ! to the Fox," which were said to be an allusion to Charles James's failing health. Holland, however, in a letter to his sister, said nothing about this, but indicated very different grounds for resentment.

Sir Walter Scott, who got 800 p^r ann^m by the very first act of Ministers, not content with lampooning Ellenborough and celebrating Melville's *innocence*, has been libelling all the Ministers and abusing the Prince in his songs. That about Ellenborough does him no discredit as a *poet*, but the other, I think, is as disgraceful to him as a *Minstrel* as it is to him as a man and a politician.

Holland seems to have got his own back four years later, when he pilloried Scott in the House of Lords for perpetrating a job in favour of his younger brother, Thomas. Scott took this so much to heart, that he cut Holland at a party in Edinburgh shortly afterwards.¹

Clearly, too, Scott was nursing his resentment, and was therefore fully prepared to relieve his feelings by a hearty laugh at the objects of it, as the following letter from his friend, J. B. Morritt, in April 1812 shows :—

Do you not remember a story you once told me of the offence given to the natural feelings of "Lucky" Finlayson by a certain silver travelling companion of Lady Holland's : I remember the communication with the highest gratitude ; and as another adventure has recently befallen this celebrated *pot-de-chambre*, I hasten to discharge *quantum in me est* the obligation I have felt by acquainting you with it. This little appendage of domestic luxury has become so essential to her Ladyship's comfort, that it always attends her when she leaves Holland House. It was lately of her party on a visit she made to one of her South country friends, at whose house she proposed to stay for a few days. Her Ladyship disdaining the

¹ *Further Memoirs*, p. 55.

china substitute which her friend had provided for her accommodation, paid her devotions exclusively to this old favourite. In the morning after her arrival the chambermaid of the house carried her ladyship's favourite to the under-butler, as she said it was *his* business to clean *plate*, and she could not be expected to understand it. The under-butler appealed to the Majordomo, alleging that a *pot-de-chambre*, though of silver, did not fall within his jurisdiction. The ladies and gentlemen of the second and third tables broke into feuds, and being unable to agree in the decision of the housekeeper or butler, the parties in procession carried the subject in dispute to their master and mistress, who have ever since been as angry as "Lucky" Finlayson at the fastidiousness of her Ladyship. I did not hear how this important affair was decided; but the family returned immediately to Holland House, carrying with them the cause of the discussion. Here ends the second part of the adventures of the Dame of the Silver Chalice.¹

The party invited to meet Sir Walter in 1820 were Lord and Lady Lansdowne, Sir William Grant, Master of the Rolls until 1817, Richard Heber, book collector and one of the founders of the Athenæum Club, William Rose, Sharp, Lord John Russell, Payne Knight, Rogers, Crabbe and Binda.

Miss Fox wrote on April 7, 1821 :—

I meant to have told you what a delightful Dinner I had had at Holland House on Thursday. Sir Walter Scott, with the assistance of his countrymen L^d Lauderdale, Sir James² and Mr Allen, who took pains to set him off, grew animated and told us many a Highland tale—of the chief of the Macdonalds, the last of the legitimate race—of the Master of Sinclair, whose reports of the transactions of the year *fifteen*, drawn with a

¹ *The Private Letter-Books of Sir Walter Scott*, edited by W. Partington, London 1930, p. 181. The "Silver Chalice" in question has disappeared, but was apparently replaced at a somewhat later date.

² Mackintosh.

satirical pencil, could not yet see the light, because it might give pain to many a worthy descendant of noble blood. Finally, he told us of a spectre that had appalled the noble and patriotic Wallace. His language is fine and his imagination kindles as he talks, and gives a poetic fire to his eye. His accent, a strong provincial Scotch, certainly gives effect to what he says, and my Brother thinks he makes it stronger for that purpose.

“Sir Walter,” wrote Lady Holland to her son Henry in 1823, “is become a member of the Roxburghe Club in quality of the author of *Waverley*. He accepted, saying he would represent the author.” It is a well-known fact that for many years Scott attempted to maintain anonymity with respect to the *Waverley Novels*, and it was not until 1827 that he became a member under his own name.

Scott visited Paris in October 1826, when employed on his *Life of Napoleon*. John Evelyn Denison, Speaker of the House of Commons many years later, wrote to young Henry Fox an interesting account of Sir Walter’s reception there :—

Hardly had Canning gone and the Embassy subsided into its natural state, when arrived a man making still greater rage among this great nation, Sir W. Scott. The extreme curiosity abt him, and the extravagancies it has carried people into have been very amusing.

At L^y Granville’s, the French women crowded abt him,¹ while the men spied at him over their shoulder. Everybody wd be presented to him. L^y Granville stood like the Lady-in-Waiting handing up an admiring crowd of Princesses and Duchesses. Sir Walter will not speak French, and he rests his reputation certainly on a surer basis than the elegance of his manner : he hung his head all the while like the most outlandish of Highlandish Sawneys. When I went into the room, L^y Granville had for a moment deserted her post, and a crowd of new worshippers had encircled him. No sooner

¹ Lord Granville was for many years British Ambassador in Paris.

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had I shaken hands with him than I felt my sleeve pulled by two or three French women. "Oh ! vous connoissez Sir Valter. You must present me." The presentation was made, bows ensued, and then followed the usual dead pause, from the dreadful bar of the tongue mutually strange. But in a minute I heard, "Mais quelle tête." Sir Walter modestly turned aside when he was saluted, "Mais, Oh Sir Valter, c'est votre belle imagination," &c., &c. In this way was the poor Gentleman beset all the evening. But these public demonstrations were nothing, Miss Scott told me, to what occurred in private. She said, "Quantities of people are calling on Papa all day long, Princesses, and Marchionesses and Marquises and I don't know what all : and they rush into the room and kiss his hand and embrace his knees, and he don't know what to do with them." I thought she might be exaggerating, but I met her last night at a large dinner Pozzo¹ gave in honour of her father, and I questioned her closely again abt the prostrations, and she declared upon her honor it was all literally true.

Scott's book on Napoleon brought about trouble between him and Sir Hudson Lowe. Lady Holland wrote in 1828, "Sir H. Lowe is going to Scotland to fight Sir Walter. Lord Northumberland said, 'Pooh, don't fight. Write a book and put him in.' To bully or cripple a poet is worthy of Sir Hudson."

The Hollands entertained lavishly at Holland House during the months of June and July of 1820 ; but it would be tedious to enumerate the names of the guests who dined there. One especially brilliant evening may be mentioned, when those present included the Bedfords, Jerseys, Grey, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Sergeant Lens, Lord Gower, Agar-Ellis, Creevey, Mackintosh, and Sharp.

¹ Pozzo di Borgo, Russian Ambassador in Paris at that time.

FOX'S MONUMENT

It is interesting to find Creevey in this assembly, as he and his adored friend, Lord Sefton, were at this time full of the "intrigues" of Holland House, about the inscription for Charles James Fox's monument in Westminster Abbey.¹ A competition had been arranged, to which Mackintosh, Grey, Brougham and others sent contributions. Creevey expressed his belief that Lady Holland had made up her mind to insist upon Mackintosh's lines, although far less brilliant than Grey's, because they did not introduce contentious subjects which might alienate the possible favour of the new King. The matter of the inscription was referred to Mrs Fox; and her disapproval of Grey's contribution was again attributed to the fact that she had been primed by Lady Holland in her reply. Mrs Fox's Diary, however, does not convey any such impression. The entry in it speaks of Grey's lines as being fitter for a paragraph in history than for an inscription for a monument. Mrs Fox further expressed many regrets at causing Lord Grey pain, and wrote :—

As I was asked to give my opinion, I felt I ought to say exactly what I really did feel about it, and the more I think of it, the greater difficulty I am convinced there is of any persons writing what would satisfy me on this subject. I am therefore more than ever convinced that the name only is the best to have on the monument. History, though it may not be able to shew all the beauties of his private life, must prove the greatness and purity of his publick one. He was in truth,

"The noblest work of God."

Westmacott himself finally solved the problem. He produced the Statue in 1822 without room on the pedestal for any lengthy inscription at all! Mrs Fox saw it in position in November. "Parts of it I like very much.

¹ *Creevey's Memoirs*, i, 299.

THE END OF A LONG REIGN

I think upon the whole it is beautiful, but it is ill placed and rather too low."

And here we may bring our narrative to a close, with the intention at a later date of bringing the history of the old mansion down to the close of the nineteenth century.

APPENDIX A

(See p. 7)

THE plan of Cope Castle contained in the book of Thorpe's drawings at the Soane Museum is shown in two inks of different colour. The centre and earlier portion is in black ; the wings, arcades, and certain other features in brown. The inscription which bears Thorpe's initials is in brown. Hence it seems clear, whoever may have built the original block, that John Thorpe was the architect, or at least the designer, of the later additions. Horace Walpole quoted the writing incorrectly, and turned "perfected" into "erected." He thus missed the most important point.

Nothing remains to show the name of the architect of the original building with any certainty, if indeed it be a fact that the same hand is not responsible both for it and the additions as well. It contained a central "hall," with a "great chamber" above and kitchen below : a "parlor" a "winter parlor," and buttery, all on the ground floor. This earlier structure, built in brick, with stone mullions and copings, including also two square brick towers or turrets with roofs rising to a central point, is eminently severe in character, if we omit from our calculations the central porch on the South side, which is probably of somewhat later date. The stonework too lacks ornamentation. The decoration of the wings, on the other hand, is far more florid in style. The pillars of the open arcades on the South side are covered with strap-work, and the stone is decorated. Similarly, the East front has three tiers of stone pilasters,¹ reproducing the three orders of archi-

¹ These have been extensively repaired with cement.

ture, superimposed on the brick walls, decorated with designs which are almost exactly reproduced from a book published by De Vries, a Dutchman, in 1577. Here again is a further proof of John Thorpe's connection with the additions, for he is known to have been very partial to Dutch models and to have made much use of this class of work.

The porch in the centre of the South front, with its elaborately carved stonework, is not shown in Thorpe's plan. It was probably added later, and formed no part of the earliest structure. Evidence of this is augmented by the fact, that during renovations in 1919 the bondstones connecting it to the original structure could be clearly traced. A somewhat similar porch, however, containing a staircase, is shown on the North front in the plan. Faulkner conjectured that this was actually erected, and that it was removed at a later date. It is quite possible that this was the case ; for there are still marks to be seen in the brickwork which point most distinctly to alterations of some kind.

Thorpe's plan is not exactly true to the design of the House as we find it. For one thing, the number of arches in the arcades do not tally. The position of the wings, also, in reference to the main building is different. In the plan, the shape takes that of an **H**, whereas we find it actually more nearly resembling an **E**, with the principal elongations on the South. The arrangement, too, of certain flues and fireplaces is not the same. From this we may conclude that we are dealing with an original drawing which received much amendment before it was passed. Sir Reginald Blomfield, in his work on English architecture, contends that Thorpe was a draughtsman rather than an architect in the modern sense of the word, and regards many of the plans in the sketch-book as work drawn from finished buildings.¹ This may be correct in some instances ; but the suggestion does not seem to apply in our case.

John Thorpe is a somewhat mysterious personage, of whom little can be stated with certainty. Any definite knowledge

¹ *History of Renaissance Architecture*, 1904, pp. 33-5.

APPENDIX A

of the scope of his activities is rendered more difficult by the fact that there were two men of the same name, father and son. Peacham, in the *Gentleman's Exercise* (1612), wrote, "John Thorpe, of the Parish of St Martin's in the fields, my especial friend, an excellent geometrician and surveiour, whom the rather I remember because he is not only learned and ingenuous himselfe, but a furtherer and favourer of all excellency whatsoever, of whom our age findeth too few. And lastly the aforementioned Master John Thorpe his sonne, to whom I can in words never bee sufficiently thankfull." Their names are connected, rightly or wrongly, with a number of the large houses of England. Kirby, commenced in 1570, is the earliest : and Canons, "my Lady Lake's house," erected between 1630 and 1642, the latest. Others for which Thorpe is said to have been wholly or partially responsible are Longford, Rushton, Audley End and Bramshill. Work of this nature extending over a period of nearly seventy years is unlikely to be that of one man. To separate the spheres of operation of father and son, however, in most cases seems wellnigh an impossibility ; but as it is generally recognised that the elder developed a special fondness for Dutch detail, we may take it that he was the one connected with Holland House.

Another uncertainty arises when we attempt to date the actual erection of the wings. The interesting balustrading to the terraces above the arcades, in the shape of fleurs-de-lis, feature the chief emblem in the arms of the Copes—a fleur-de-lis, *argent*, on a field *azure*. The design should strictly have been evolved before Cope's death, or during the period of the occupation of the House by his widow, which terminated in 1621. Equally, however, it must be allowed that Henry Rich would not have lost sight of so decorative an item in his wife's coat of arms. The editors of the recent volume of the *Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments* (London, Vol. II) take the view that the wings were not erected till the later years of Rich's occupation of the House. Moreover, the discovery of a book of accounts dealing with a largish addition between 1637 and 1640, may be held to give some colour to the suggestion that the wings are of this later date.

This manuscript¹ was amongst those handed over by the present Viscount Halifax to the Corporation of Leeds with Temple Newsam House; and, by the kindness of the late Sir Charles H. Wilson and the Committee appointed to supervise the property, we have been allowed access to this very interesting document, with permission to make full use of it. It is evidently one of a series of similar account books referring to building operations undertaken by Cope's son-in-law, Henry Rich, first Earl of Holland. Temple Newsam at that time belonged to Sir Arthur Ingram, whose daughter married Robert Rich, afterwards second Earl of Holland. No doubt, therefore, the book in question was taken at some time or other to Temple Newsam, and was there mislaid or forgotten. It refers in detail,

- (1) To an addition to the mansion.
- (2) To a block of stables and coach-houses, of which some arches are still standing at the bottom of the formal gardens on the West side of the House.
- (3) To renovations or improvements to the existing buildings and grounds.

The accounts of the bricklayer, carpenter, joiner, glazier and painter, etc., are cited: and the detail of the work carried out by each is noted down at the current prices of the day. The accounts relating to the three years 1638–40, vouched for as “measured and cast up” in October 1642, amount to the total of £6609 8s. 2d.—no small sum in those days. Something under £2000 more was expended on additions and alterations to the House. As a summary of accounts for 1637, vouched for in 1641, reach the further total of £5755 14s. 2d., it seems evident that extensive works were in progress throughout the whole of this period. The absence of other books of the series, however, tends to uncertainty as to whether these figures and the later ones may not in some respects overlap.

The question now arises, whether these accounts refer to

¹ “The generall accompts for all the Buildings of the right hon^{ble} the Earle of Holland at his lopp^h8 Manno^e of Kensington. Anis 1638, 1639 et 1640.”

any existing structure or to some addition which has since disappeared. If to the former, it can only be to one of the wings. But if it deals with some building now non-existent, where did that building stand? In Fuller's Survey of 1694/5, which will be referred in due course in the text of this work, the House appears much in the same shape as in Thorpe's plan, with the addition of a substantial block of building abutting on the West side of the main edifice, thus facing the stables, though at a distance of more than a hundred yards from them. Can this be the new structure referred to in the account-book?

Tradition tells us nothing of the existence of this excrescence. It seems to have been entirely forgotten. We might even look upon the map as incorrect in this particular, as was often the case in buildings represented on land surveys of this kind. But quite by chance we discovered in the Manuscript Room in the British Museum,¹ when in search of other information, a book of bills and accounts relating to Charlotte, Countess of Warwick and Holland.² It is entitled, "Memor^{dum} about pulling down the West End of Holland House, called the New Building, and y^e Staircase thereto belonging"; and is in effect a contract, signed by Thomas Callcott and W^m Clarkson, dated "May y^e 8th., 1704," to carry out the above work for the sum of £50. All tiles, lathes, stones and bricks fit for use were to be taken down carefully and stored in the yard, together with the floors, casements, rails and banisters of the staircase. A receipt at the end of the document acknowledged payment, and stated that the work was duly completed.

The paper, however, tells us nothing of the form of the structure. We know only that it was on the West side, that it was called "the New Building," and that it contained a staircase. The shape of the building in the Survey of 1694/5 at least gives the impression that it would have contained a large room. But it does most satisfactorily account for the

¹ Egmont MSS., 1973.

² Widow of Edward, sixth Earl of Warwick and third Earl of Holland, who died in 1701. She subsequently married Joseph Addison.

block of building shown on the Survey, and for its subsequent disappearance.

In order to decide the chief features of the addition of 1638-40, and to give some idea of its scope, it will be necessary to give some extracts from the Temple Newsam accounts. The following is a brief *résumé*.

The accounts of "W^m Dodgson, Bricklaier" give the dimensions of the brickwork, and speak of "a tyled roof," and of "a great cornish." The smallness of the sum allowed for foundations, £8, seems to show that the bulk of them must have been paid for in an earlier account.

The carpenter's statement mentions "a great chamber room," a staircase of 94 "stipps": 24 windows of various shapes and sizes: and shows that the building had a garret and three floors below.

The bill of Mr Goodwick, the painter, refers to 235 yards of painting "in all windows and walls in the new addition of building next to the great house." The eaves were also to be painted, and 103 yards "in walnut colour in the new dyning room in the same building."

The glasier, Thomas Bayley, claimed £33 4s. 6d. for glass in the new addition.

The only items in a long bill from Roger Coats, mason, which can with certainty be traced to the new building, are, "587 foots of Purbeck stone for the new passage": "171 foots for the new staircase": and "13 foots of ragged stone in the hearth" of "the new hall." Chimney pieces and foot guards in the "Great Room" are mentioned, but there is nothing to show that this was in the addition, or whether the "great chamber" on the first floor in the original block—the present *Gilt Room*, may not be designated. An item of "903 foots of Purbeck stone laid in one of the cloysters," probably refers to one of the arcades on the South side, and also "the 3 steppes in the same place." On the other hand, it is just possibly an allusion to the open arcade on the East side.

Similarly the "Joyn^{rs} Bill . . . for work done by W^m Turner" contains the cost of wainscot, shutters and chimney-pieces in "My Ladies' closett," "the dyning room," "my

Lord's chamber," "my Ladies' chamber," and "my Lord's closett": but may refer to new decorations in rooms in the original block.

The new building, judging from the above details, consisted of four floors of brickwork, with a great cornice: garrets, a "Great chamber Room" on the second floor, and a room below: a ground floor: a staircase containing 171 feet of Purbeck stone and 94 wooden steps: and 24 windows: and as to other rooms, certainly a dining-room and a hall.

Now how far would these features tally with the dimensions and contents of one of the wings? We may rule out the western one, which could never have contained four stories. The ground floor of it, according to Thorpe's plan, was devoted to a kitchen and larders, apparently cutting out the earlier one under the hall. Indeed, it is difficult to see how either wing could have ever risen to that height, or could have contained garrets or eaves, without a radical change in the roof construction. The actual size of the building, it is true, would not be so far wrong, and the number of windows in the eastern wing would be practically correct. They do not, however, suit the description given of them. There is a "great cornice," too, on the East front in three bands. But it is so completely identified with the pilasters, which connect its levels one with the other and are such a striking feature of the façade, that it seems almost impossible that mention would not have been made of them. Then the pavement for "one of the cloysters" no doubt refers to an arcade on the South front. But the entry does not prove that the arcade was new; and certainly there is insufficient stone indicated in any of the Mason's bills to have sufficed for erection of the arcade itself.

Further, there is no place for a staircase answering to the description, in either of the wings. The two back staircases are in the turrets, that is to say in the original block. There would have been no reason, too, for a new hall in the East wing, nor for a new dining-room. The "parlor" in Thorpe's plan, now the *White Parlour*, in the North-East corner, was already in close proximity to the great Kitchen. On the other hand the re-arrangement of kitchen and larders in the West wing,

according to Thorpe's plan, would have been most handy for a dining-room in the new block. And again, there is no mention of one of the most striking features of the arcades, the balustrade in the form of fleurs-de-lis.

It is no easy matter to attempt to controvert the eminent authorities who have compiled the *Royal Commission Report*. Yet we cannot feel that their theory, that the accounts of 1638-40 refer to one of the wings, is based on sure ground. The whole weight of evidence seems to us to prove that the bills refer to the addition on the West front, which was swept away sixty years later. Unfortunately, this conclusion brings us no nearer to a solution of the date of the erection of the wings. Unless, however, they had been actually commenced before Cope's death, it may well be that nothing was done during Lady Cope's occupation of the House, and that the work may only have been put in hand in or after 1621, when she vacated in favour of her daughter and son-in-law. This theory agrees with Faulkner's contention that the wings were erected by the Earl of Holland, and also the porch on the South side.

APPENDIX B

(See p. 9)

THE reference in Sir Walter Cope's will to his house reads as follows :—

“ To Dame Dorothea, my well beloved wife . . . all that my capital messuage or Mansion House, wherein I nowe dwell, situate and being within the parish of Kensington, Together with all edifices, houses, barnes, stables, gardens, orchards, yards and courtyards, within the circuit of the utmost Bricke wall of the sayd house, Together with the four severall closes of lande, meadowe and pasture thereto adjoining. And the wayes and walls lying between the Highwaye leading between the Towne or Street of Kensington and Hammersmith in the sayd County of Middelsex, and the Bricke walls lying on the South part of the sayd House. And also that close of pasture lying on the West end of the Stable belonging to the sayd house, out of which the Bowling Place is enclosed, together with the sayd Bowling Place. Also that close of pasture lying and being on the North side of the Orchard Bricke Wall, together with the pasture last before named. And all that piece of ground and walke lying along the East side of the Bricke wall at the East end of the sayd Bricke house, And so extending all along to the Parsonage grounds of Kensington towards the East unto the sayd High Way South, And all wayes, paths and passages to the said house and premises.”¹

This description of the immediate surroundings of the House is valuable, for on reference to the Survey of Edward Bostock Fuller, taken in March 1694/5, which faces page 32, we can trace some of the features above mentioned. A brick wall

¹ *Kensington Parish Magazine*, 1886, p. 259.

seems to have enclosed the house, stables, outhouses and gardens, in all 12 acres, 1 rood, 20 perches. The four closes of land referred to may be on the North side, "The Little Breaches" of the Survey, by then subdivided into two fields of 8^a. 2. 22 and 7^a. 3. 11; "The Great Breaches," subdivided into 9^a. 3. 33 and 10^a. 2. 31; "Little Hill Field"; and perhaps "The Wilderness," and "Great Hill Field," are included. The land to the South, subdivided by 1695 into four fields lying between the house and the main road to Brentford, is next mentioned. The pasture to the West of the stables, seems certainly the oddly shaped field termed "Lady Wells," of 2^a. 0. 30, though the "Bowling Place" is not shown. Finally, "the piece of ground and walke lying along the East side of the Bricke wall at the East end of the sayd Bricke house, and so extending all along to the Parsonage grounds of Kensington towards the East unto the sayd Highway South," must be the strip shown in the Survey as "The Green Walk," i.e., to all intents and purposes the present Holland Walk.

This reference to the "Parsonage grounds" requires further elucidation. Queen Elizabeth had granted the Abbot's Manor in 1598 to three Trustees for Walter Cope, notwithstanding the fact that four years previous to this she had leased the site of the Manor, and the rectory, to Robert Horseman for thirty-one years from the termination of an earlier lease granted to Elizabeth Snow. Horseman refused to vacate; but the matter was amicably settled, and was confirmed by an indenture, dated November 27, 1599.¹ By this, Cope sold to Horseman the "manor or parsonage house" (which apparently was on the site of the present barracks in Church Street), with 200 acres lying between the Queen's highways to Brentford and Acton respectively, and also included woods and closes on the North side of the last-named road. The tithes of two and a half acres "adjoining Mr Cope's house," and "lately by him converted into an orchard" were specially mentioned as retained by him, together with the residue of the manor and the tithes of the copyholds.

¹ Faulkner's *History of Kensington*, p. 194, *et seq.*

APPENDIX C

(See p. 29)

THE portrait of Addison at Holland House has been the subject of much controversy. That it should have remained in the House continuously since the time when he lived there seems more than improbable; for the property went through various vicissitudes before it finally came into Henry Fox's possession. Nor is it likely that Lady Warwick and Holland would have left behind so portable a likeness of her husband, when she moved her London residence to Burlington Street. Lysons in his *Environs of London* (1792-6) makes no mention of a picture of him at Holland House. But Princess Liechtenstein saves us from the trouble of labouring this point by stating quite definitely that the picture belonged to Addison's daughter, and that it was purchased at a sale of her effects by the third Lord Holland.

Subsequent investigations, however, throw doubt on the correctness of this assertion, if the sale took place immediately after Miss Addison's death in 1797, as we are told was the case.¹ Lord Holland was searching for a picture of him in January 1801: for we find that his sister, Caroline Fox, forwarded to him at that date two letters in this connection from a certain Mr Howell, as she knew that he "was very desirous of getting a picture of Addison." It seems therefore that it must have been acquired subsequent to that date; and, as we have seen in the text, it was used for Westmacott's statue in 1809.

Now comes the *dénouement*. Nearly thirty years later, Charles Robert Leslie, the well known artist, painted the

¹ *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, Vol. xii, 358, 1873. Addison's library was sold in 1799.

picture of Lord and Lady Holland with D^r Allen in the *Library* at Holland House, which now belongs to Lord Grey and hangs on the walls of Howick. In it was included the picture of Addison, leaning against a chair. Leslie's work was in due course engraved; and shortly afterwards, Mr Fountaine, of Narford Hall, in Norfolk, entered a print shop and noticed the mezzotint. In it he recognised the reputed portrait of Addison as that of his own ancestor, Sir Andrew Fountaine.

After some discussion in *The Athenæum* on the subject, a pamphlet¹ appeared in 1858, embodying the pros and cons of the problem. To prove his theory, Mr Fontaine brought up to London a picture of his forbear,² of which he alleged that the Holland House picture was a poor copy. All sorts of suggestions were put forward to show that the Kensington portrait did not represent Addison, notwithstanding Macaulay's eulogy of it in his *Essay* on Addison. It was stated that Sir Andrew was a friend of Sir Stephen Fox: that the picture had belonged to the latter, and had thus found its way into the House. Next, that Addison and Fountaine were close friends, and that the portrait had been presented to him.

No definite conclusions were arrived at in the course of the further correspondence which ensued. We have not seen the Narford picture, and cannot therefore venture an opinion on its identity with the person represented at Holland House. But we incline to the following belief—that our portrait was originally at Bilton, and was one of Sir Andrew Fountaine or of some other of Addison's friends: that it was sold at the Bilton sale: and that in the interval before it was acquired by Lord Holland, the name of the sitter had become changed, either in error, or purposely, by some dealer who had bought it, in order to satisfy the desire of the owner of Holland House to possess a portrait of so distinguished an inmate.

¹ *Joseph Addison and Sir A. Fountaine, or the Romance of a portrait.* See also *The Athenæum*, January-June, 1858.

² It was said to bear the signature, "H.S. pinxit," and to have been painted in Rome.

APPENDIX D

(See p. 30)

Vertue. Add. MSS. 23071.

Published by Walpole Society, 1936. Vertue, vol. iv.

PICTURES THAT WERE AT HOLLAND HOUSE, KENSINGTON

The oldest, some of Holben's etc., were collected by—Cope, a curious man and possessed that mannor and house. S^r Walter Cope, the last of that Family, his picture and his wife and the daughter in the middle. A picture $\frac{1}{2}$ length, Earl of Essex. A large picture, King Charles first and his Queen with their horses. Jeffry the dwarf, and dogs etc. A large but indifferent picture.

Earl of Holland who married the Heires of Cope and great favorite of Villars Duke of Buckingham. A noble family peice of the Duchess of Buckingham in black, her two sons and her daughter. The Duke's picture above in a frame. Painted by Vandyke (or Mytens).

2 whole length Vandyke. One Charles Lodowick Count Palatine without the garter, and prince rupert with a garter.

Many whole lengthes. Frederick D.Gra. Dux Wirtenberg. Francia et Anglia regii ordinis Eques auratus. M D C V.

Besides this Duke is his Duchess, his son with his hand on a dog and 6 daughters. All whole figures, strangely attired, according to the mode of their Country.

This Frederick was K of the Garter by Qn Eliz. . . . but came into England when James I was installed.

A picture of K Henry 8 on Bord. A picture at top a long inscription, his Titles and An^o. 1547. It looks Old, his beard greyish. Qu. if the original. The face well done. Holben's manner.

A picture on bord finely preserved, painted by Holben, of a mathematician. At bottom in a paper writt, thus

Imago ad vivum effigiam expressa
Nicolai Kratzen, manatenssis q bavar, erat
quadragessimū primo anno t̃yre illo 9plebat ¹
1528. See Carl Van Mander. Life of Holben.

¹ Abbrev. complebat :

APPENDIX D

A head. Charles de laubespine Marquis de Chateauneuf, conseiller destat des ordres de sa Majesti. Ambassad. extraordinaire vers le Roy de la Grande Bretagne. A^o 1629. Corn. Janson (I think).

Several more heads. Some of Mirevelt.

Qu. The inventory or Catalog. formerly taken.

Many of these pictures of Holland House carried to Bilton, near Rugby, near Dunchurch, Warwickshire, 8 miles near Coventry.

Lord Bradford bought several good pictures out of Holland House.

And Lord bought a whole length of y^e Earl of Warwick and Holland by Vandyke.

APPENDIX E

(See p. 78)

Danced in the Gilt Room. 1753.

Lady Caroline Petersham	danced with	Earl of March.
Lady Betty Spencer	„	Lord Cathcart.
Countess of Coventry	„	Captain Sandys.
Countess of Holderness	„	Mr Churchill.
Countess of Stafford	„	Mr Vansittart.
Countess of Hillsborough	„	Mr George Brudenell.
Lady Bateman	„	Mr Henry Digby.
Lady Camilla Bennett	„	Lt Colonel Sandford.
Lady Anne Keppel	„	S ^r John Bland.
Lady Caroline Keppel	„	Ensign Smith.
Lady Mary Churchill	„	Lt Colonel Seabright.
Lady Baltimore	„	Lord Hobart.
Mrs Legge	„	S ^r Thomas Seabright.
Miss Clifford	„	Mr West.
Lady Fawkenor	„	Mr Richard Lewson.
Miss Kitty Compton	„	Mr George Selwyn.
Miss Brudenell	„	Ensign Carey.
Miss Digby	„	Captain Carlton.
Miss Bishop	„	Duke of Richmond.
Miss Mackworth	„	Mr George West.
Lady Caroline Fox	„	Earl of Hillsborough.

Setters by.

Lady Albemarle
 Lady Yarmouth
 Mrs Digby
 Mr Fox

} Play'd two Pools at Quadrille.

APPENDIX E

Setters by (*continued*).

Duchess of Bedford	}	Cut in at Whist.
Lady Betty Waldegrave		
Lady Pembroke		
Duke of Marlborough		
Earl of Coventry		
Mr Rigby		
Mr Ellis		
Lady Townshend		
Duke of Bedford		
Countess of Kildare	}	Cribbege Players.
Mrs Ellis		
Lord Bury		
Lord Digby		
Mr Dicky Bateman	}	only Look'd on.
Earl of Kildare		
Mr Legge		
Countess of Fitzwilliam		
Lady Trevor		
Commodore Keppell		
Mr H. Walpole		
Mr Calcraft		
Lord Bateman	}	Danced Minuets only.
Earl of Holderness		

The Card Players play'd but a little while.

The Card Tables (in Number, three) were in Lady Caroline's Dressing Room.¹ The Balcony, as well as the Gilt Room, was lighted up, and they danced a little while in both.

Tea, Negus, &c., at which Mrs Fannen presided, in the Tapestry Room. At One We all went down to a Cold Supper, at Three Tables in the Saloon, and three in the Dining Room.

Supper was remov'd at each Table with a Desert and Ice.

All sate down, Lady Townshend, Lady Fitzwilliam, Duke

¹ The bedroom on the first floor which opens on to the *Great Staircase*. "The Balcony" was clearly one of the terraces above the Arcades on the South side of the House.

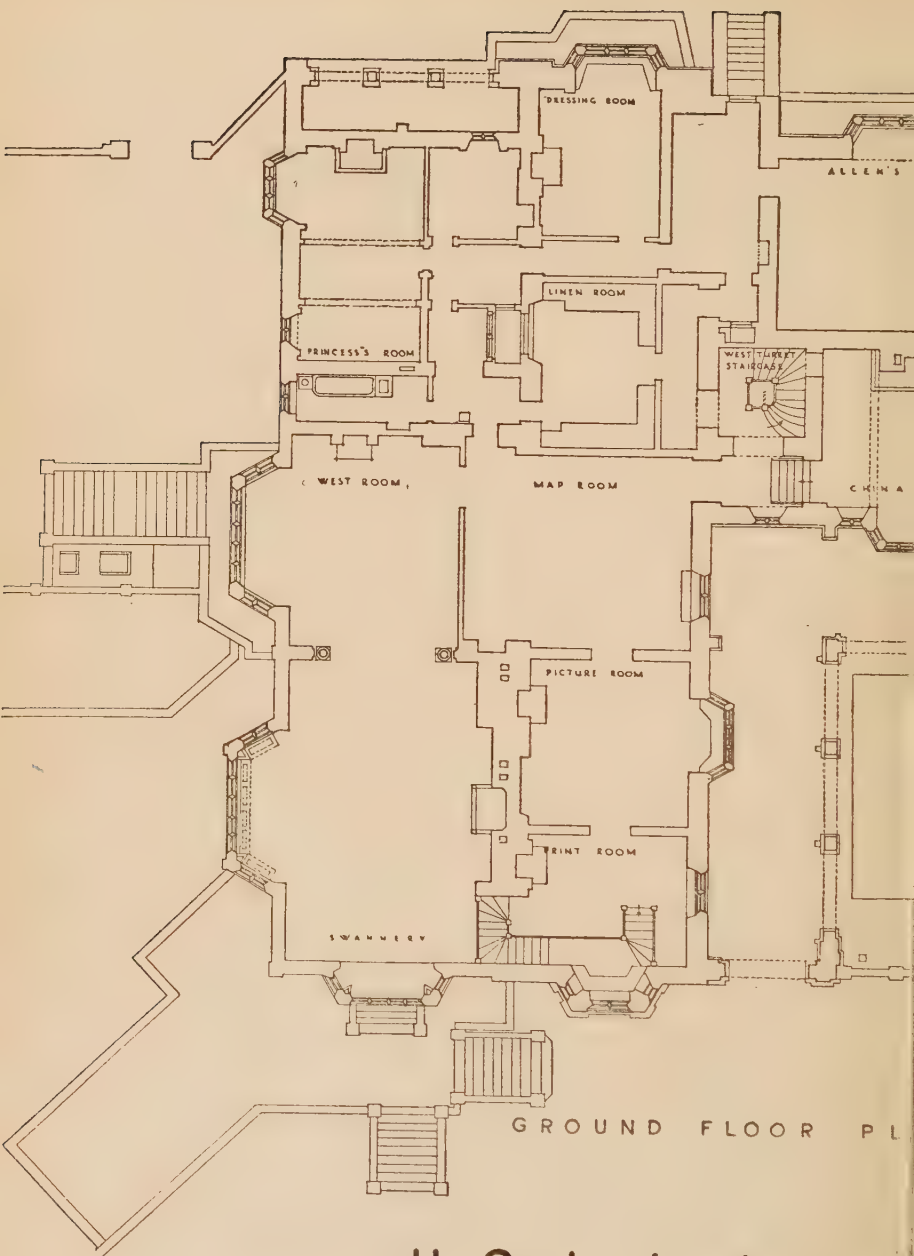
APPENDIX E

of Marlbro', and Mr Legge only excepted, who went before Supper.

Danced after Supper.

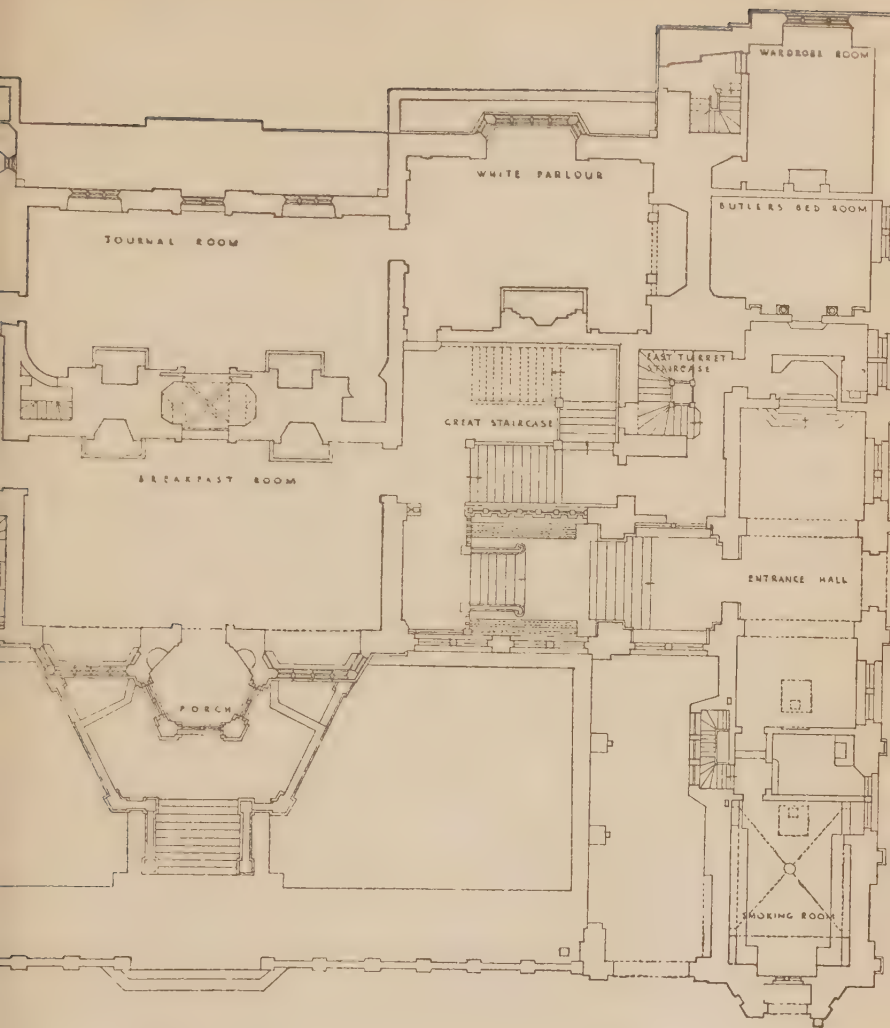
No Dancer went before three, or stay'd after Five.

The Tables Prepar'd in the Supper Rooms held Fifty-six. A Corner Table was plac'd Extraordinary for Six Men besides. Sate down to Supper in all sixty-two. Lord Digby and Mr Bateman did not sup, but walk'd about admiring.

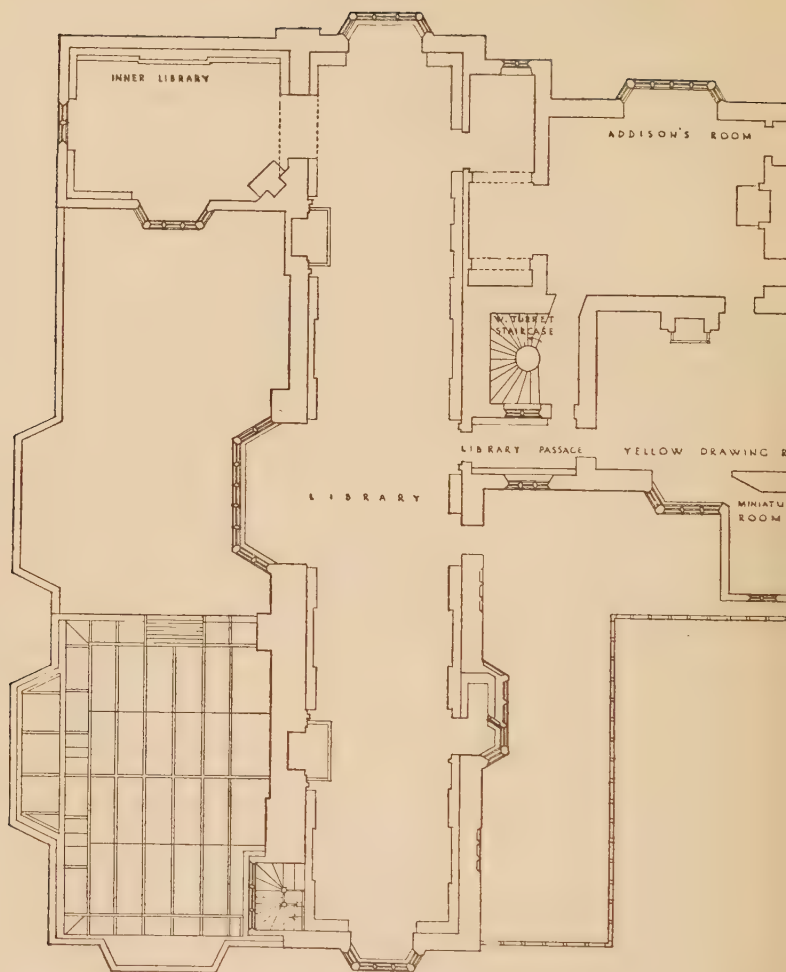


HOLLAND

SCALE 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 FEET



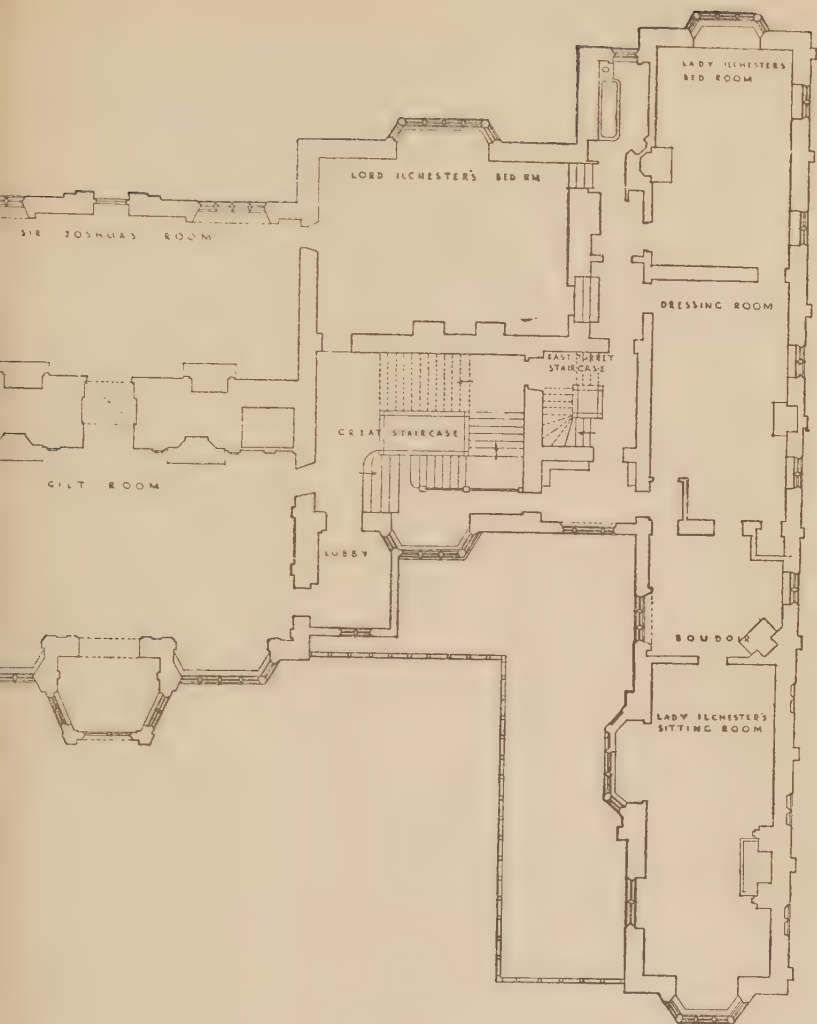
H O U S E



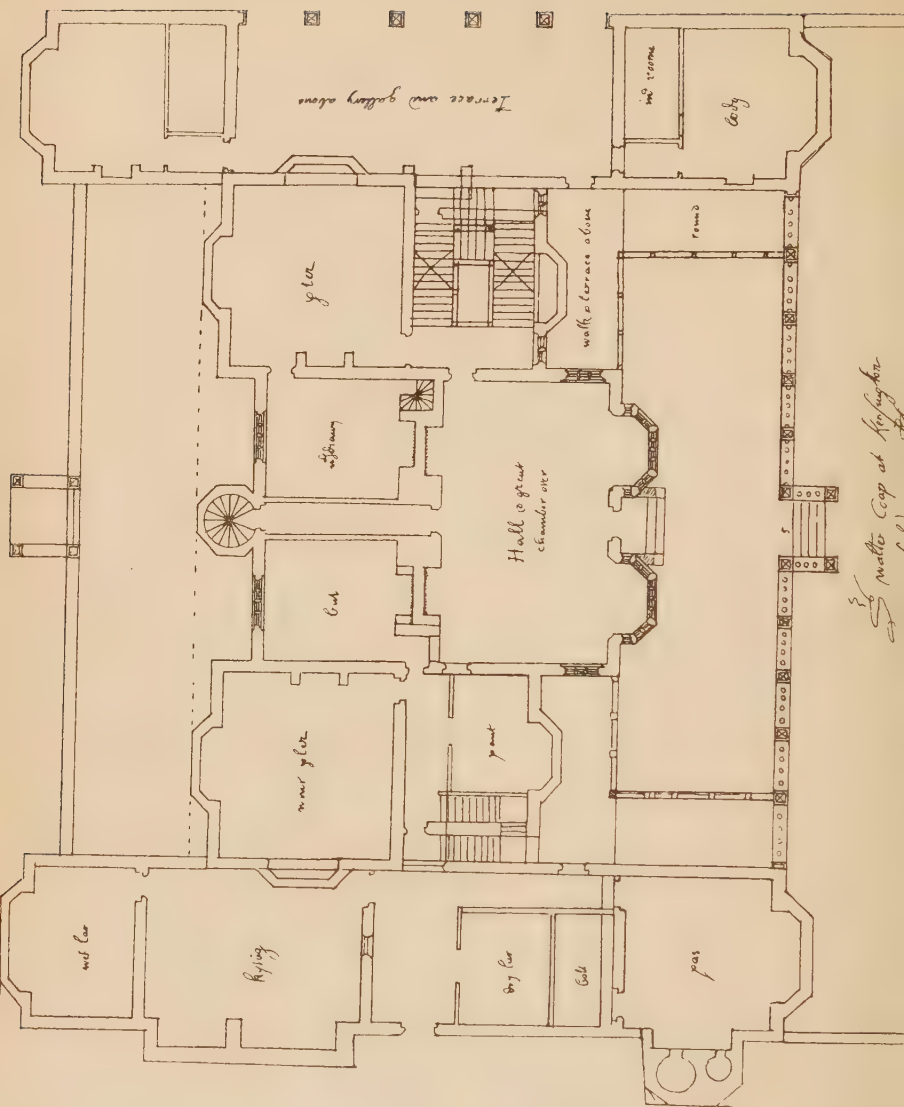
FIRST FLOOR PLAN

HOLLAND





H O U S E



*See matter Cope at Kensington
p. 101*

Cope Castle

Ground plan, by John Thorpe, taken from his book of drawings in the
Sir John Soane Museum

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For *H.H.* read Holland House. *Holland*, or, *Lady Holland*, allude to Henry Richard Vassall Fox, 3rd Lord, and Elizabeth, 3rd Lady, unless the reference is to the contrary. *Earl* or *Countess of Holland* refer to the Rich family. References to notes are indicated by n.

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